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NOTES AND CRITICISMS ON UNSETTLED POINTS IN EARLY WESTERN HISTORY.

A SERIES OF PAPERS CONTRIBUTED BY VARIOUS WRITERS, EDITED BY
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'Ἀλὼτα γίγνεται' ἐπιμελεῖα καὶ πόνος ἅπαντα.

—[Menander.]

Rien n'est beau que le vrai: le vrai seul est aimable.

—[Boileau.]

NO. III.

THE ATTEMPTS MADE TO SEPARATE THE WEST FROM THE AMERICAN UNION.

The war of the Revolution was scarcely over and peace declared before there began an effort which, in various forms, was carried on for twenty years, to separate the western portion of the Union from the States on the Atlantic seaboard. The first attempt to divide the Union was by a line running nearly north and south, and along the Alleghany Mountains. The cause which gave life to the movement was the vast extent of the territory of the States, the little knowledge of and communication at that time had between the distant parts, and the adverse interests which were created by the difference of climate, and antecedents, and previous nationality, of those now bound together in the American Union.

There is considerable ignorance now, even on the part of well-informed persons, as to the condition of the several parts of the country, with all our facilities of travel and communication. It is not strange that this should be much greater when few could ever go far from their own firesides, when newspapers were rare, and high rates of postage made frequent communication impossible. As resulting from this, the provincial stamp set upon the several sections, by reason of climate, and soil, and occupation, would be more fixed, and antagonisms more emphatic than now, when all judgments and tastes are modified by a ready and constant attrition of the most distant parts upon each other.

It could not well be otherwise than that regions so distant and dissimilar, and in so many matters opposed in interest, should find it difficult to pass from the condition of separate and independent provinces to that of a federal union without many jarrings of discord. This would be especially likely in the earlier days of the government, before the relative rights and duties of the central and State administrations had been adjusted, and when the burdens of debt incurred by a long war had to be borne, and distributed, and paid. In no part of the country was this strain greater than in the recently and sparsely settled regions west of the Alleghanies, where, along with a self-assertion and indisposition to submit easily to control, always characteristic of a frontier life, there was but little ability as yet to bear heavy exactions of impost and taxation, and perhaps no very great sense of the degree of previous protection extended by the central government, as calling from them justly for any large self-sacrifices now. They were poor, and had with great hardships made homes and settlements. The Atlantic States were wealthier, and had done little for them. They were not patient under any heavy burdens to be put on them now.

In order to come fairly to a consideration of these early chafings against the new and strange bonds of union, it will be necessary to remind ourselves of the political situation of the Mississippi valley at that time.

On the third of November, 1762, the French king ceded to Spain all the country known under the name of Louisiana,* which itself, in 1712, Louis XIV had defined in his letters patent to Crozat to be all the country between Mexico and Carolina, the river Mississippi† from the sea to the Illinois, the Missouri river, the Wabash, and all the land, lakes and rivers flowing into any part of the river Mississippi.

*Vergennes, *Mem. Sur la Louis.*, pp. 32-3.

†Martin, *Louisiana*, p. 114.

This donation was accepted, but the transaction was kept secret, and the king of France continued to act as sovereign. In the treaty of Paris, in 1763, between Spain and France on the one side and Great Britain on the other, it was agreed that the limits of the French and British possessions should be a line drawn along the middle of the Mississippi river from its source to the river Iberville; along the middle of that stream, and of the lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain* to the sea; and that all on the left side of the Mississippi river, except the town and island of New Orleans, should belong to the king of England. New Orleans and the country to the west were to belong to the king of Spain.

In the same year Great Britain divided Florida into two provinces. West Florida was bounded by the Appalachian river on the east, and by the thirty-first degree of latitude on the north. In March, 1764, on the representation that important settlements to the north had been left out, the northern boundary was made along a line due east from the mouth of the Yazoo river to the Appalachian. In 1777, Great Britain purchased of the Choctaws the Natchez district, extending along the Mississippi river from latitude thirty-one, one hundred and ten miles northward to the mouth of the Yazoo.†

In November, 1782, in the preliminary articles, and on the third of September, 1783, in the definitive treaty of peace between the United States and Great Britain, the southern boundary of the United States was determined to be a line drawn from the Mississippi river due east in the northernmost‡ part of the thirty-first degree of latitude to the Chattahoochee river, thence to its junction with the Flint river; thence to the head of the St. Mary's river; thence to the ocean; in all this coinciding with the boundary of East and West Florida, as established in 1763 by Great Britain.

On the same day the treaty of peace between Great Britain and Spain declared an entire cession in full right of East and West Florida to Great Britain to Spain without defining the northern boundary.

From this, as was natural, and, as Pontalba asserts, as England intended, arose a dispute between the United States and Spain. The United States claimed, under its treaty with Great Britain, that its southern boundary line was the thirty-first degree. Spain, on the other hand, claimed, as part of West Florida, all of the territory south of the line running east from the mouth of the Yazoo river, which was one hundred and ten

*Gayarré, third ser., p. 93. †Claiborne, Miss., p. 98. ‡Treaties U. S. p. 316.

miles further north. To strengthen her title, in June, 1784, Spain made a treaty at Pensacola with the Creeks, Choctaws and Chickasaws inhabiting this district, by which they conceded the Spanish title, and engaged to support it. Subsequently, also, Alexander McGillivray, head chief of the Creeks, and agent of the other tribes of the Muscogee Confederacy, acknowledged himself subject to Spain.

Spain had possession of the disputed territory, under the conquest of Galvez, and refused to surrender it to the United States. She erected forts at Nogales, now Vicksburg, and subsequently at New Madrid, and she strengthened her garrisons at Manchac, Baton Rouge and Natchez. Both powers had equitable titles, the dispute arising from the discrepancy in the terms of the treaty made by Great Britain with the two nations. Of course, all this occasioned great bitterness between the powers, and also individuals of each nation.

The district west of the Alleghanies, now comprising the States of Kentucky and Tennessee, was rapidly filling with adventurous persons, many of whom had been in the Revolutionary armies. The severity of Indian depredations was no longer so severely felt, and towns were springing up. The richness of the soil was bringing forth abundant harvests of wheat, and corn, and tobacco, which could only with difficulty seek a market east of the mountains, and must consume themselves in the cost of transit. The natural channel of trade was down the Ohio, Cumberland and Mississippi rivers, and the most advantageous market would be New Orleans. On account of the bitterness, however, between the nations, previous to 1787 all those who ventured on the Mississippi river had their property seized by the first Spanish vessel that was met; and little or no communication was kept up between the respective countries.

The free navigation of the Mississippi river, south of the thirty-first degree, had been reluctantly yielded to Spain.* In 1780-81, when the preliminaries of peace were being discussed in Paris and Madrid, the mutiny of the Pennsylvania line was causing anxiety, and the British forces under Cornwallis and Tarleton were overrunning the South.† There was consequently a fear on the part of the delegates in Congress from South Carolina and Georgia that, if a peace was then forced by the European powers, the principle of *uti possidetis* would cause those States to fall into the hands of Great Britain, which occupied them then. To prevent this, and secure the important adhesion of Spain, the American ministers were in-

*Writings of Madison, IV., p. 558. † White, Georgia, p. 106.

structed that, if Spain inflexibly demanded it as a condition of alliance, the concession of our claim to the free navigation of the Mississippi river, south of the thirty-first degree, should be allowed.

Years had passed and peace was declared, but the United States were still under the Confederacy, and suffering from all the weakness which came from that temporary arrangement. Its seat was in New York, at a great distance from the Mississippi valley: and it was but slightly aware of, or concerned about, the consequence of that remote region. In 1785 Mr. Jay, who was conducting a negotiation with Gardoqui, the Spanish representative on this subject, having been called upon by Congress to give his views on the matter, recommended that it would be expedient to conclude a treaty with Spain, limited to twenty or thirty years, and for the United States to stipulate that during the term of the treaty they would forbear to navigate the Mississippi below their southern boundary.* This view was sanctioned by the seven more northern, and opposed by the five more southern States.† Seven States in Congress authorized Jay to conclude a treaty with Gardoqui, and restrict the right of the United States to the Mississippi river, while the article of the confederation expressly declared that the United States should enter into no treaty unless nine States in Congress assented to it. But Spain would not even agree to this stipulation, because it implied an ultimate right in the United States to navigate the river.‡

Naturally this apparent indifference or hostility on the part of Congress to what was of vital importance to the western country, the free navigation of the Mississippi river, and the possibility thus of getting a market for their produce, had an irritating effect upon the excitable population of the section. This cause of anger was intensified by the delay of Congress in complying with the request of Kentucky to be received as a State in the Union. The cause of this delay, and afterwards the rejection of the overture, was the fear of disturbing the sectional balance. The eastern States, by a majority of seven to six, were not willing to give their assent to the admission of the district of Kentucky into the Union, as an independent State, unless Vermont,¶ or the district of Maine, was brought forward at the same time. Back of this disinclination was a further cause. In the settlement of the terms of peace with Great Britain, Congress had abandoned the check of a two-thirds vote on commercial questions, and

*Butler, History Kentucky, p. 156.

† Lives Chief Justices, I, 364.

‡Secret Jour. Cong., IV, p. 296.

¶ Bancroft, History Constitution, I, 373.

substituted that of a majority. In the haste to relieve the embarrassments of trade, and restore prosperous business relations, the more commercial States of the north, not waiting for Great Britain to comply with the conditions set for it, such as the surrender of slaves, and the giving up of the posts on the northwestern frontier, immediately removed all restrictions from trade, and left Great Britain, with her large capital free, to compete for the business of the States. This operated to the disadvantage of Virginia and the other southern States,* in handing over their tobacco to the monopoly of England. This cause would also act as a bar on the admission of any new southern State that would be likely to change the majority and disturb the existing commercial arrangements.

Spain, however, was on the alert to use for her advantage the anger of the people of Kentucky, aroused by the seeming hostility of the government of the United States to the dearest interests of the West.

Among those who had come to Lexington, Kentucky, in 1784, to settle was General James Wilkinson. He was born in Maryland, marched with Arnold in 1775 through Maine to Quebec, was at the surrender of Saratoga, and had fallen into disrepute with Washington, and resigned in 1778, because he had told to Lord Stirling, while under the influence of wine, the expressions used by Conway to Gates to the disparagement of the generalship of Washington. He was a wordy, officious, consequential person, who liked to make a profit, and he became engaged in the dry goods trade. In June, 1787, he descended the Ohio and Mississippi to New Orleans, with a cargo of tobacco and flour, determined to try his enterprise and address at the seats of the Spanish government in Louisiana. He was successful, and Governor Miro granted General Wilkinson permission to bring tobacco to New Orleans on favorable terms. Wilkinson also impressed the importance of his influence to such an extent upon the Spanish authorities that a monopoly and special remissions of duty were made to him, so that for some time all the trade from the Ohio was carried on in his name, and a line from him sufficed to ensure to the owner of a boat every privilege and protection that he could desire.

The Spanish government at this time, 1786-87, had projected a plan for colonizing Louisiana from the United States; and Gardoqui, the Spanish minister in New York, had sent several vessels to the Mississippi with colonists. In the depression that existed during the latter years of the Confederacy, when the United States had not the ability to pay its old

*Bland Papers, II, 83. Tyler Letters, I, 102.

officers and soldiers,* General Steuben, Colonel George Morgan and other Revolutionary officers of rank opened a treaty with Gardoqui for the grant of an extensive district of country west of the Mississippi, upon the plan of establishing a military colony under particular privileges and exemptions. In pursuance of this, in the winter of 1788-89, Colonel Morgan, of New Jersey, under the sanction of Gardoqui, came down the Ohio with a considerable body of colonists. Gardoqui had made to him a concession of from twelve to fifteen millions of acres on the west side of the Mississippi river, from the mouth of the St. Francis river to Point Cinq Hommes. He proposed to establish a city which in ten years would reach a hundred thousand inhabitants, as near the mouth of the Ohio as the nature of the land would permit, and he called the place New Madrid, in compliment to the Spaniards. To Morgan Gardoqui gave the concession of a free post. Thus privileged and happily situated, commanding the trade of the Mississippi and Ohio rivers, the place would intercept all the products of the country going south.

Such a plan, however, did not suit the purposes of Wilkinson. He had his own scheme of colonization, which he broached to Governor Miro, by which he proposed the settlement of several thousand families in West Florida, or on the Arkansas and White rivers, to whom lands were to be granted in proportion to their numbers and condition, and for whom Wilkinson was to be allowed from one to three hundred dollars a family. For this purpose he presented a list of names of persons in Kentucky as emigrants, in order to give consistency to his proposition. Having this scheme in view, although it was never realized, Wilkinson discouraged the plans of other colonists on the plea that trade would be diverted from New Orleans. The New Madrid concession was therefore withdrawn; the colonists scattered, and a fort was erected there.

Wilkinson, on his visit to New Orleans, determined also to demand for his services, for promoting the schemes of colonization into Spanish territory, the privilege of furnishing a considerable annual supply of tobacco to the Mexican market, which he thought would secure immense fortunes to himself and his friends.†

As might be presumed, Wilkinson did not receive these favors from the Spanish governor without making pledges in return. He declared that there was a general abhorrence throughout the western parts against Congress, because of its indifference to their interests in the matter of the

*Wilkinson, Mem., II, 3.

† Clark, Proofs against Wilkinson, p. 13.

navigation of the Mississippi river; and that on this account they were on the point of separating from the Union. He appealed to Spanish fears* on the idea that the British, who still held the northwestern forts, could easily unite with the increasing strength of the western settlements, and invade and take possession of Louisiana, and even of Mexico. Nor did Wilkinson leave New Orleans without a pledge to devote himself to the task of delivering up Kentucky into the hands of the Spanish king.

Wilkinson did not make this declaration without knowing of the intense discontent which existed in that district. The growing population were deeply excited because they had in vain petitioned Congress to secure for them the free use of the Mississippi river, without which it was useless for them to till the ground, since they had no market for their produce; and they were determined to take the matter into their own hands. They were divided up into different parties.† One was for declaring themselves independent of the United States, and forming a new republic, in close alliance with Spain. Another was in favor of becoming a part of Louisiana, and submitting to the laws of Spain. Another party desired to declare war with Spain, and seize New Orleans. Another wanted to prevail on Congress to extort from Spain the free navigation of the river; and still another party wished to have France recover Louisiana and extend her protection to Kentucky.

As Congress, on the third of July, 1788, finally decided to postpone the application of Kentucky to be received into the Union, in one week from that day Mr. John Brown, who represented Kentucky before Congress, wrote a letter to the President of the Kentucky convention that Mr. Gardoqui, the Spanish minister, in a conversation, had stated that ‡ "if the people of Kentucky would erect themselves into an independent State, and appoint a proper person to negotiate with him, he would enter into an arrangement with them for the exportation of their produce to New Orleans, on terms of mutual advantage."

About this time, May 15, 1788, Wilkinson wrote to Miro that Congress,|| because of the present federal compact, can neither dispose of men or money. The new government, should it establish itself, will have to encounter difficulties, which will keep it weak for three or four years, before the expiration of which, "I have good grounds," he said, "to hope that

* Gayarré, *Spanish Domination*, p. 182.

† Butler, p. 171.

‡ Gayarré, *Spanish Domination*, p. 222.

|| Gayarré *S. D.*, p. 210.

we shall have completed our negotiations, and shall have become too strong to be subjected by any force which may be sent against us." And, also, "When this people shall find out that they can procure articles not manufactured among us more conveniently through this river, the dependent state in which we are will cease, and with it all motives for connection with the other side of the Appalachian Mountains."

Wilkinson was, in the meantime, shipping his cargoes to New Orleans, and prosecuting his profitable business ventures.* His agent, Major Dunn, gave it out as certain that the next year Kentucky would act as an independent State, and Miro writes to the home government, as from Wilkinson, that "the direction of the current of the rivers, which run in front of their dwellings, points clearly to the power to which they ought to ally themselves."†

In the Kentucky convention of November, 1788, the urgency of Wilkinson bore on the two points: ‡ First, the importance of independence, and of the formation of a State constitution, without waiting for the previous consent of the parent State of Virginia; and second, the securing of the free navigation of the Mississippi, even though this could only be secured by a Spanish connection. In reciting the results of that convention to Miro, Wilkinson writes: "To consolidate the interests§ and confirm the confidence of our friends, to try our strength, to provoke the resentment of Congress with a view to stimulate that body into some invidious act which might excite the passions of the people—these are the motives which influenced me. . . . In order to prevent the suspicions and feelings of distrust already existing here, and inflame the animosity between the eastern and western States, Spain must resort to every artifice in her power. . . . Every manifestation of the power of Spain, and of the debility of the United States, every evidence of the resolution of the former to retain exclusively to herself the right of navigation on the Mississippi, will facilitate our views. Every circumstance, also, that will tend to impede our admission as an independent State, will increase the discontent of the people and favor the execution of our plan."

Wilkinson also sought to increase in the Spanish governor the sense of obligation for his services by dilating on the address|| with which he had caused the British Doctor Connally, an emissary from Lord Dorchester, the governor of Canada, who had come to offer English assistance in any

* Bancroft, Consti., I, p. 398.

† Gayarré S. D. p. 212.

‡ Butler, Ken., p. 172.

§ Gayarré S. D., p. 227.

|| Blennerhassett Papers, p. 87. Gayarré, S. D., p. 235.

expedition in the west to secure the free navigation of the Mississippi, to return affrighted to his own country after having accomplished nothing.

The result of it all was that the Spanish governor, who was not without his doubts all along that Wilkinson had motives of his own, commercial or otherwise, in his pro-Spanish declarations, sent him five thousand dollars for the outlay that Wilkinson declared that he had been at, and half as much more with which to corrupt Marshall and Muter, who were opposed to the Spanish connection.†

The causes operating in Kentucky in favor of Spain also manifested themselves in the western settlements of North Carolina. In order to make a fund for the payment of her debts, Congress had asked the States to cede to her all their vacant lands to the west, that they might be sold to pay Revolutionary claims.‡ North Carolina did this, and ceded the two counties of Cumberland and Washington, which constitute the present State of Tennessee. In compliance with this act the people assembled, under the leadership of General Sevier, the hero of the battle of King's Mountain, and proceeded to organize the State of Frankland. In a few months after North Carolina rescinded its previous action and recalled its cession of land.¶ This enraged the people west of the mountains, who were poor, and had borne privations, and were harrassed by taxes, and the great distance of the courts in which they might seek redress. There ensued, therefore, some acts of violence in the contention between the two jurisdictions. The settlers on the Cumberland river, which ran through the district and sought the gulf, were deeply interested in the navigation of the Mississippi, and, therefore, were operated on by the same motives as those which were stirring up Kentucky.§

On the twelfth of September, 1788, in his resentment, General Sevier wrote to Gardoqui to inform him that the inhabitants of Frankland were unanimous in their vehement desire to form an alliance and treaty of commerce with Spain, and put themselves under her protection. They named the county of Cumberland, in West Tennessee, Miro, in compliment of the Spanish governor. These overtures were flattering to Spanish pride, but had to be received with caution, because Spain was at peace with the United States. A concession was, however, made, that the people of the Washington and Miro districts should have the privilege of

†Gayarré, S. D., p. 256.

‡While these lands were a cause of contention, they furnished also a common interest which kept the country together. Johns Hopkins' Historical Studies, third ser., I., Introduction.

¶Spark's Franklin, X, p. 290.

§Ramsey, Tennessee, p. 298; Gayarré, S. D. p. 257.

carrying their produce down the Mississippi to the market of New Orleans on a duty of fifteen per cent., which Miro reserved the right of reducing according to his pleasure in behalf of any men of influence who might be named by the Spanish agent. Miro communicated with Wilkinson with regard to these negotiations, and a system of cypher messages between them was devised to ensure secrecy.

In the year 1789, a powerful company was formed in South Carolina, and purchased from the State of Georgia an immense tract of land, including fifty-two thousand square miles, and extending on the Mississippi river from the Yazoo to the neighborhood of Natchez. As this was in the debatable ground between the United States and Spain, no time was lost by the company in endeavoring to come to a good understanding with the Spanish authorities in New Orleans. Their alliance was sought, and the company declared its desire to form itself into an advantageous rampart for Spain. Miro communicated the business to Wilkinson, who immediately addressed himself to the South Carolina gentlemen, protesting his own disinterestedness, and influence with the Spanish governor, and their need to have the services in New Orleans for the negotiations of a gentleman of distinction, with full powers, and offering himself for the position. He loaned to Captain Cape, the agent of the South Carolina company, according to his statement to the Spanish governor, three thousand dollars, to secure his influence. His efforts, for a time, did not seem to be without result. Miro praised Wilkinson for the part that he had acted toward the company. On the twenty-fourth of May, James O'Fallon, the general agent for the South Carolina company, wrote to Miro, from Lexington, Kentucky, the residence of Wilkinson, that he had "prevailed upon the company to consent to be the slaves of Spain, that they had formed the resolution of separating themselves from the Union, and that all that they desired from the Spanish Crown was a secret coöperation, which would soon ripen into a sincere friendship."*

Thus, throughout the whole west, the restlessness of the frontier settlers, along with the feebleness of the confederacy, worked, with the machinations of Spain, to bring about a disposition for the severance of the western country from the United States, with the hope of placing it under the protection of that power which held the key of the situation, in the possession of the mouth of the Mississippi river. And in this business General Wilkinson was the principal agent of the Spanish governor, and

*Gayarré, S. D. p. 289.

a stipendiary upon the Spanish treasury. Thus, later, when his offices seemed to bear less results, the governor writes to the home secretary that in his opinion the general should be retained in the service with an annual pension of two thousand dollars; and he also recommends that a pension be granted to Colonel Sebastian, of Kentucky, because "he will be able to enlighten me on the conduct of Wilkinson, and on what we have to expect from the plans of the said brigadier-general."* One spy was hired to watch the other spy.

But such a plan of securing Spanish dominancy in the west could not permanently be successful. In the first place it was founded upon deceit and stealth. Then the texture of character of the hardy American would inevitably in the end prevail as a ruling interest and controlling power as against the weaker and subtler nature of the Spaniard. Furthermore, the scheming had profited by the weakness of the confederacy. This, however, in 1789, gave place to the greater efficiency of the Union under the present constitution; and the firm and wise administration of Washington soon began to tell in the respect for authority, and the greater cohesion of the parts. Besides this, the reduction of the tariff on the part of Spain on shipments down the Mississippi, diminished the inducements for separation, and the greater numbers and boldness of the western settlements made it clear to the Spanish authorities that they must change their tone of menace.

In the year 1791, the Spanish intrigues in the west and south began to slacken from want of success, and the United States set on foot persuasives, through its minister in Madrid, to have Spain give up New Orleans, and confine itself to the western bank of the Mississippi river.

While these efforts were making, the west came to feel some of the effects of an agitation which was dividing political parties in the east, and had its origin on the continent of Europe. A supposed inclination† towards Great Britain, our old antagonist, was a mark of the Federal party, which dominated in the administration of President Washington. A sympathy with France, our former ally, was the characteristic of the Republican party, which was in opposition, and whose leader a little later was Jefferson. The one side emphasized the necessity of strengthening the Federal Union; the other party asserted the original rights of the States, and enlarged upon the dangers of centralization. The bitterness between the parties was for many years most violent.

*Gayarré, S. D., p. 286.†Barbè Marbois, *His. Louisiane*, p. 241.

In 1793, the sympathy in this country with France, which was in the throes of revolution, took the form of the organization of democratic societies, at first in Philadelphia, which violently proclaimed the most extreme anarchical notions of universal rights, such as had broken to pieces the social order in France. There would, therefore, be little wonder that in Kentucky, where Great Britain was charged with being the instigator of the barbarous Indian depredations, and where many of the old soldiers lived who had fought along side of the French during the Revolutionary struggle, similar societies should be organized.* Genet, the French minister in this country, appealed to the alliance of 1778 as the ground on which we should side with his country in its differences with England, made a triumphal progress through the States, dealt out commissions to privateers, enlisted officers and men,† organized Jacobin clubs, and sent out four‡ agents to Kentucky, who set on foot societies in Georgetown, Lexington and Paris. They issued addresses, in which they traded on the grievances of the western people, enlarged on the advantages which would flow from their separating themselves from the rest of the United States, and the glorious results which would accrue from going down and freeing Louisiana from the thralldom of Spain and setting up a republic there. They called upon the French in Louisiana to rise against their present rulers.

A force of two thousand men was enlisted for this expedition, at the head of which George Rogers Clark § accepted the office of "Major-General of the Army of France, and Commander-in-Chief of the Revolutionary Legions of the Mississippi river."

The firmness of Washington compelled the recall of Genet, the French minister, and this caused the collapse of the intended movement against the Spanish posts.||

At this time there were symptoms of a war between Great Britain and Spain. The former power had not yet given up possession of the forts on our northwestern frontiers. It held them with the hope that they might be of advantage in strengthening its hold on the western parts of America. There is good reason for believing that its purpose was, if war had been declared with Spain, to march its troops through the western territories and seize upon Louisiana. The Spanish minister alleged this to our government, and induced it to strengthen its frontier posts and

* Blennerhasset Pap. p. 101. † Lives Chief Justices, I, p. 390. ‡ American State Pap., I., 455.

§ Butler, p. 224.

|| Barbé Marbois, p. 167.

issue strict orders against the passage of any British troops through our territory. Our government was the more induced to do this as it was endeavoring to persuade the Spanish ministry to consent to a cession of the district east of the Mississippi.

So soon, however, as the danger of invasion was past, the Spanish governor at New Orleans, Carondelet, again imposed restrictions upon the commerce on the Mississippi, endeavoring thus to show to the western people that their only hope lay in a separation from the United States. Along with this, renewed efforts were made to subsidize leading citizens of the west in favor of the Spanish interests. The United States were being pressed from without by troubles with Great Britain, France and Spain. The whiskey insurrection in Pennsylvania was putting* to a strain the relations of Federal and State authority, and requiring the militia of several States to quell it. Hamilton's financial plans had not yet begun to ease the public credit. All the northwestern tribes of Indians were harassing the Ohio and Kentucky settlements. England on the northwest, and Spain on the southwest, were pressing on both flanks of the western territories, to cause them to break loose from the Union into permanent separation.

While the United States were pushing Spain for a settlement of the boundary line, and for amicable commercial arrangements by diplomacy, Spain was endeavoring to break the force of the pressure by securing the influence of the leading men of Kentucky on its side by bribery. In the summer of 1795,† Carondelet sent Gayoso up the Mississippi river, with a force, under the pretense that it was to be used for the building of a fort at the Chickasaw bluffs; but Gayoso went on to New Madrid, and informed Don Thomas Portell that he had important dispatches which must go forward immediately to Kentucky. Portell gave them to Thomas Power, who had been charged with a similar secret embassy before. Power made his way to Kentucky and delivered Carondelet's letter to Wilkinson, who had two years before reëntered the military service of the United States. Wilkinson and Power had nocturnal meetings in Cincinnati, and Wilkinson gave him letters to Carondelet, in which he recommended the following points to the Spanish governor:‡ *First*, that cargoes should be sent up from New Orleans to the Ohio river, by which the confidence of the people should be gained, and the channel pointed

* Monette, History, Valley Miss. II, p. 202.

† Clark, p. 221.

‡ Gayarré, S. D., p. 360. Clark, Notes, p. 34.

out and made familiar through which they could best receive foreign commodities. *Second*, the mouth of the Ohio should be strongly fortified, and works erected of such strength as to arrest for one campaign the progress of any army that should come down from the north. *Third*, a bank, with a million of dollars of capital should be established in Kentucky, and the leading characters in the country be made directors. *Fourth*, General George Rogers Clark, and his adherents, who had been in the pay of the French Republic* recently, should be brought into the service of Spain, which should increase its agents in Kentucky, and establish a magazine at New Madrid.

Under Wilkinson's direction, Power was joined at Redbanks by Colonel Sebastian, and it was intended that they should be joined by Messrs. Innes, Murray and Nicholas. These last did not come, and Power and Sebastian went to New Madrid, and thence proceeded to New Orleans to meet the governor. The next year Power again communicated dispatches from Carondelet to Wilkinson, and carried him nine thousand dollars concealed in barrels of sugar.†

In the meantime the negotiations between the United States and Spain reached the point that, on the twenty-seventh of October, 1795, a treaty was signed in Madrid,‡ which stipulated that the southern boundary of the United States should be the thirty-first degree, and that within six months after the ratification of the treaty the troops of each power should retire to its own side of the boundary; that, within that time, also, commissions on each side should be appointed to run and mark the line; that the middle of the Mississippi river should be the western boundary of the United States to the thirty-first parallel; that the whole width of the river from its source to the sea should be free to the people of the United States, and that the people of the United States should, for a period of three years, be permitted to use the port of New Orleans as a place of deposit and export, with only local charges, and that after this time, by further negotiation, might be extended, or some other point on the island of New Orleans designated for the purpose.

Although this treaty was thus concluded, it was very evident that there was very little idea that the measure was anything more than a temporary piece of diplomatic finesse, which would not be carried into effect, and would soon be abrogated. Spain was on the point of declaring war against

* Blenn., Papers, p. 101.

† Clark, Notes, p. 37.

‡ Gayarré, S. D., p. 356. Treaties U. S., p. 776.

Great Britain, and desired to secure the United States as a neutral power, between Canada and Louisiana, to prevent invasion on the part of Great Britain. Not for one moment did the efforts in the direction of subsidizing individuals cease.

In June, 1796, Governor Gayoso* wrote that the treaty of the year before never would be carried into effect. Great Britain had, in 1794, made a treaty with the United States, the object of which was to attach them to her interests, and to counterbalance this Spain had made her treaty of limits. As Great Britain had totally failed in her object,† the governor thought that Spain should not regard her stipulations. Besides, it was expected that several States would separate from the Union, and this would absolve Spain from its engagements. He concluded, therefore, that nothing but the free navigation of the Mississippi would be the result of the treaty.

On the death of General Wayne, in December, 1796, Wilkinson succeeded to the command of the American army. He had intimated to Baron de Carondelet that he was getting ready a force to accompany the commissioner, Mr. Andrew Ellicott, to take possession of the forts of Natchez and Walnut Hills, and to run the territorial line between the possessions of the two powers under the treaty. The baron was determined not to surrender the territory. He, therefore, secretly commissioned Mr. Power, in May, 1797, to go to General Wilkinson, in order to state to him that, on account of the doubts as to the manner of delivering the posts, and the apprehension that a British force was marching from Canada to attack upper Louisiana, he was resolved to retain the forts until he could receive the decision of the Spanish minister. He, therefore, requested that the march of the American troops be suspended until such decision could be reached.

The Spaniards had some grounds for the fear which they expressed. The Spanish governor still retained possession of the post at Natchez. So long as this was done, it kept open all the irritating questions as to boundaries between the Americans in the districts of Tennessee and Mississippi and the Indian tribes in that section. The Americans complained because their government seemed so slow in asserting its rights against Spain and protecting them from the Indians. At this juncture, in April, 1797, Mr. Blount, the United States Senator from Tennessee, who had a wide influ-

* Martin, Louis, p. 269.

† Stoddard's Sketches, p. 99.

ence in his State, entered into a secret correspondence* with the English envoy in this country, Mr. Liston, the object of which was to induce England to send forces from Canada by Lake Michigan, down the Mississippi river, where boats and abundance of provisions would be sent to them from Kentucky and Tennessee; and they would rapidly descend the river, overcome the feeble Spanish garrison at New Orleans, and occupy the whole of Louisiana and Florida. This correspondence, however, in transmission to England, fell into the hands of a person who thought it his duty to send it to the President. In consequence of this, the plan fell through, and Mr. Blount was expelled from the Senate. The scheme, however, affrighted the Spaniards when they heard of it.

Baron Carondelet, when he therefore sought to delay the giving up of the posts on the Mississippi river, and sent Mr. Powers on his mission, gave him instructions so confidential that he was only to retain them in his memory.† He directed him, while traveling through the western country, to sound the disposition of the people as he went. He gave him also a system of signs in writing his dispatches, which would indicate whether he found a hostile condition, and as to the number of pieces of artillery and any other warlike preparations which he might find. He was also to persuade the people, as he was able, that the delivery of the posts to the United States was opposed to the interests of the western people, who, as they would have one day to separate from the Atlantic States, would find themselves without communication with lower Louisiana, from whence they might expect powerful help in artillery, arms, ammunition and money as soon as ever the western States should determine on a separation; and that for this reason the west, in allowing Congress to take these posts from Spain, was forging fetters for itself.

The baron then stated to Power some propositions which he desired him to place before Messrs. Sebastian, Innes, Murray and Nicholas, and any other persons pointed out by them.

First. They were to exert all their influence in impressing on the minds of the inhabitants of the western country a conviction of the necessity of their withdrawing and separating themselves from the Federal Union, and forming an independent government wholly unconnected with that of the Atlantic States. To prepare for this, the most eloquent and popular writers should, in well-timed publications, expose, in the most

*Barbè Marbois's, p. 176. American State Papers II, p. 76. Ellicott's Journal, p. 64.

† Gayarré, S. D., p. 360. Wilkinson, Mem., II, note 46.

striking point of view, the inconveniences and disadvantages that a longer connection with and dependence on the Atlantic States must draw upon them; and the benefits they will certainly reap from a secession ought to be forcibly pointed out. The baron pledged himself to appropriate one hundred thousand dollars for the use of those who should engage in this work, and to indemnify those who should lose any positions thereby.*

Second—Immediately after the declaration of independence, Fort Massac, on the Ohio, near the mouth of the Cumberland, was to be taken possession of by the new government, which would be furnished arms by the king of Spain, who would further engage to supply one hundred thousand dollars for raising and maintaining such troops.

Third—He was to endeavor to discover General Wilkinson's disposition, and he thought it scarcely possible that he would prefer to command the army of the Atlantic States to that of being the Washington of the Western States, that at the slightest movement he will be named as the general of the new republic, that the army is weak, and devoted to Wilkinson, and nothing is required but an instant of firmness to make the people of the west perfectly happy. To suffer the instant to escape would be for them to place themselves forever under the oppression of the Atlantic States.

The baron declared that Spain, limiting itself to the possession of the forts of Natchez and Walnut Hills, would cede to the western States all the east bank of the Mississippi from thirty-one degrees to the Ohio, which would form a very extensive and powerful republic, and that Spain would not interfere with its constitution and laws. Mr. Power was also directed to conciliate Mr. Ellicott, the American commissioner, and endeavor to induce him to come to New Orleans.†

Mr. Power went secretly through Tennessee overland, to avoid the forts, to Kentucky, and had an interview with Sebastian, and the others, and then went on to Detroit, where General Wilkinson was. Wilkinson was no longer so sanguine as to the hopefulness of a separation of the western States, for the reason that so many of the purposes for which there had been such a desire, had now by treaty been realized. He complained of having been betrayed before; but he told Power that if he was made governor of Natchez, he would there have opportunities to comply with the baron's political desires. He held secret meetings with Power; while, because of the suspicions that he was conscious were rest-

*Clark, Notes, p. 82.

†Clark, p. 84.

ing on him for his Spanish dealings,* he publicly sent Power away under guard, and, apparently, in disgrace.† Power, on his return to New Orleans, gave a discouraging account of the disposition of the great body of the western people in the matter of separation.

In November, 1798, Mr. Ellicott, the commissioner, states that by a very extraordinary accident a letter from the governor-general, on its way to a confidential officer in the Spanish service, fell into his hands. The letter contained the most unequivocal proof of the late existence of a plan to injure the United States, in which a number of citizens were engaged, and a correspondence between Spanish officials, and one whom he indicates as General Wilkinson. He says that dispatches and twenty thousand dollars in silver were sent up from New Orleans; and although the boat was searched, these articles were overlooked. These facts he communicated in cypher to the State Department.‡

On the twenty-ninth of March, 1799, the Spaniards having lost all hope of causing a dismemberment of the Union, evacuated the forts at Natchez, and the United States troops on the next day entered into occupation. Thus ended the long cherished dreams of Spain to build up a strong nation at the gateway of the Mississippi. So long ago as 1783, the Count de Aranda, the Spanish minister, declared to his king his belief that both France and Spain had acted in opposition to their own interests in espousing the cause of the colonies. "This Federal Republic," he said, "is now a pigmy. The day will come when she will be a giant. She will forget the services she has received from the powers which have helped her, and will think only of her own aggrandizement." By the strange irony of fortune, all that Spain received for the alliance of 1778 was the Floridas, by which she hoped to retain the commercial control of the Gulf of Mexico, which for years had been slipping away; but in this she was disappointed. All that she had was eight years' possession of Florida and Louisiana, and the revisionary right of the latter from France. By recognizing the political existence of a great, independent nation in the new world, Spain condemned herself to lose, sooner or later, the magnificent transatlantic domain, the sovereignty of which had been transmitted by the princes of Austria to the Bourbons.§

The treaty with Spain in 1795, gave to the citizens of the United States

* Clark, p. 89; Wilkinson Mem., II, Note 48.

† Clark, Notes, p. 97.

‡ Blennerhasset Pap., p. 429. Ellicott's Journal, p. 183.

§ R. C. Winthrop, 'France and United States,' p. 38.

the right to deposit produce in New Orleans, for export trade, for the period of three years, which time might be extended, or some other point on the island designated for the purpose. The attitude of Spain to this country in 1799 was not pacific. Her privateers preyed upon our commerce, and in July the Intendant Morales issued an order prohibiting the use of New Orleans as a place of deposit by the western people, without designating any other point.* Naturally, when this order became known, it excited the most intense indignation. The west had become too strong and resolute to endure this closing up of her great artery of trade.

An immediate campaign was set on foot against Louisiana. President Adams called for the raising of twelve new regiments. Three regiments were ordered to assume a position near the mouth of the Ohio, and to keep their boats in readiness to go down the river. General Washington accepted the chief command† of the armies raised in the east and west. He, however, died that fall, and the retirement of Mr. Adams from the Presidency, and the entire change in Federal politics, caused a suspension of hostilities, and a disbanding of the regiments in the summer of 1880.‡

In the meantime Napoleon,§ whose power was at its zenith in Europe, had set on foot inquiries which gave him the most minute information about Louisiana, and he had determined as a part of the vast system which he had planned with which to aggrandize France, to acquire this then Spanish province. A remarkable memoir,§ prepared for him by Mr. Pontalba, who had long resided in the colony, and had held official position under Spain, states, with extraordinary comprehensiveness and eloquence, the present and prospective importance of the country about the mouth of the Mississippi. He says that Louisiana is the key of America, and, therefore, of the highest importance, and has been for a long time past the object of the ambition of the United States. He argued that an appropriation of three millions of francs, to be placed in the western country, would procure the immigration of thirty thousand persons to the better lands near the mouth of the Mississippi, and that the immigrants from Kentucky and the neighboring districts would sell their lands and come down into Louisiana, where they could have land for nothing, and better facilities for trade. He also showed that France would in this hold the key of Mexico, and be able to control its commerce. He thought such a power, affording the best market for all this grown in the Missis-

*Barbè Marbois, p. 233. Gayarrè, S. Dom., p. 399.

†Sparks' Washington, XI, p. 395.

‡Gayarrè, S. D., p. 409.

§ Barbè Marbois, p. 184.

§ Gayarrè, S. D., p. 410.

issippi valley, would present a powerful motive to induce the inhabitants of the western districts to separate from the United States, in order to form an alliance with France, with the obligation that they should defend Louisiana in case of an attack from the United States. He spoke of the powerful influence which General Wilkinson—although he did not call him by name, as not desiring to expose him—had extended on behalf of Spanish interests for a series of years, and expressed no doubt but that such interest could still be secured.

Pontalba presented his memoir on the fifteenth of September, 1800, and on the first of October a treaty was concluded at St. Ildefonso,* an article of which was that the king of Spain engaged to retrocede to the French Republic within six months after the execution of the treaty with the Duke of Parma, the province of Louisiana, with the same limits that it had then in the hands of Spain, that it had when France possessed it, and for such enlarged territory as had been acquired from the treaties which had subsequently been made between Spain and other States. The stipulation with the Duke of Parma was that Napoleon was to put the duke, who was a member of the Spanish house of Bourbons, in possession of Tuscany, and erect it into a kingdom. For this boon Spain was to cede Louisiana to France. The vast territory, therefore, included under the name of Louisiana was bartered off for a petty Italian principality. As France was at war with Great Britain, and this power was master of the sea, and could easily attack and conquer Louisiana, if known to be a French dependency, all knowledge of the treaty between France and Spain was carefully concealed, and Spanish officials remained in power.

The cession of Louisiana to France was a blow to the United States,† as it placed at the gateway of the Mississippi a strong and aggressive power, instead of a weak one, such as Spain was. It was also a menace to Great Britain, because, if France extended her influence up the Mississippi river towards the British possessions in Canada, it virtually destroyed the results of the Seven Years' war and the treaty of 1763. Intimations of the ratification of the treaty of cession gradually came to the ears of our ministers abroad; and they set on foot remonstrances against it. Before publicity was had, however, peace was concluded, on the first of October, 1801, between Great Britain and France; and, concealment being no longer necessary, the latter power immediately prepared to send twenty-five thousand troops to Louisiana.

* Barbé Marbois, p. 184.

† Bauduy des Loziers, *Sec. Voy.*, p. 195.

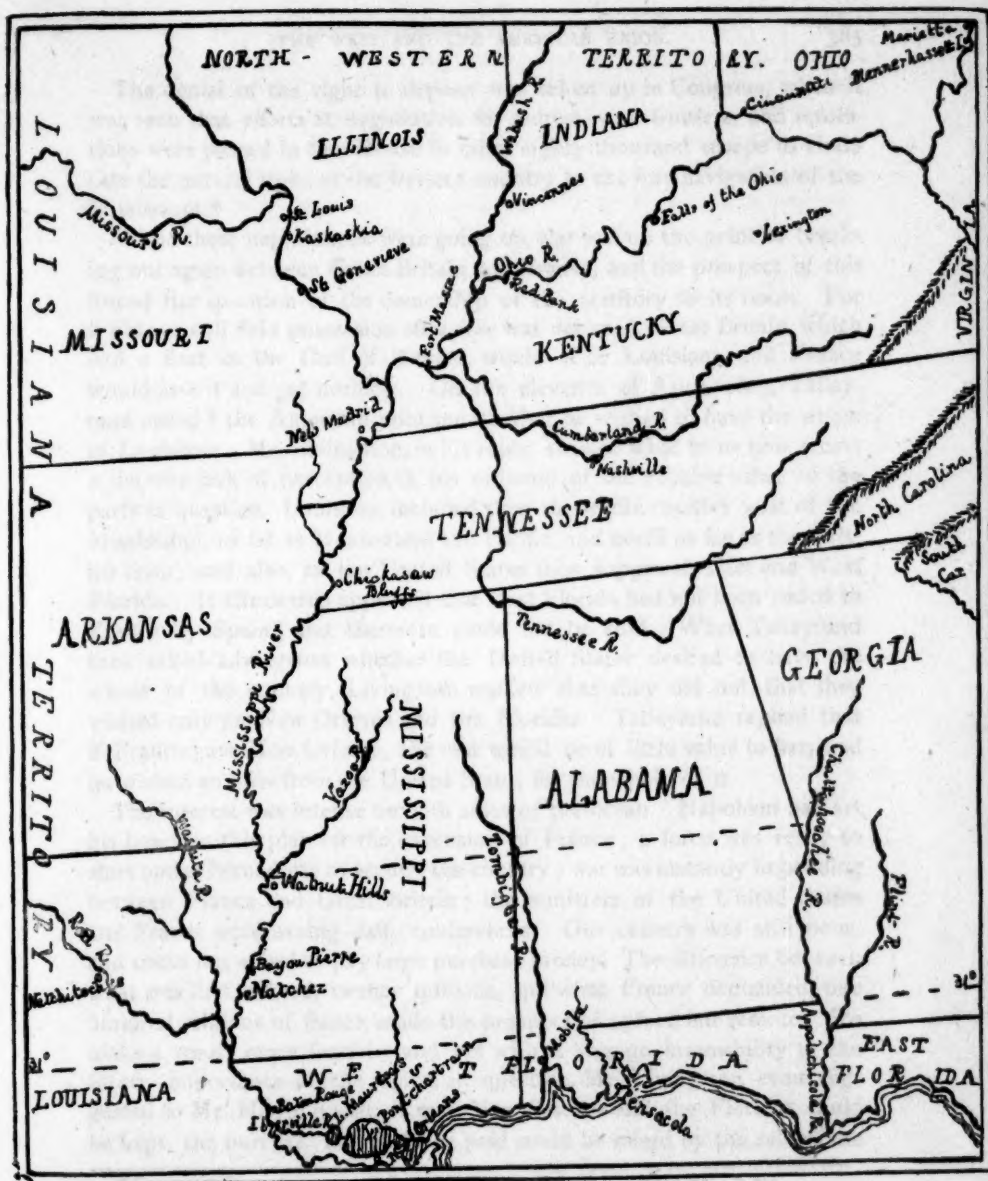
Delay in dispatching the force, however, resulted from a difference between Spain and France as to the meaning of the treaty; whether the cession included Florida or not. In the meantime the Mississippi, which had been opened for deposits at New Orleans in 1801, was on the sixteenth of October, in the next year, closed again, in accordance with the policy of the Spaniards to discourage the settlement of Americans in Louisiana. This produced great excitement throughout the country, as it also came near causing a famine in New Orleans by stopping the supplies of flour and other western produce. Strong remonstrances were made to the general government against the injury caused to the west by these repeated interruptions of her commerce. Barbè Marbois, in his history, gives a specimen of some of the language used by the western people.* "The Mississippi," said they, "is ours by nature. Its mouth is the only issue which nature has given to our waters, and we wish to use it for our vessels. No power shall deprive us of this right. If our most perfect liberty in this matter is disputed, nothing shall prevent us from taking possession of the Capital, and when we are once masters of it, we shall know how to maintain ourselves there. If Congress refuses us effectual protection, we will adopt the measures which our safety requires, even if they endanger the peace of the Union, and our connection with the other States. No protection, no allegiance."

Mr. Livingston, the American minister in Paris, sent over specially by Mr. Jefferson to settle this business, discovered that the projected establishment in Louisiana was disapproved of by every statesman in France† as certain to cause a great waste in men and money, excite enmities and produce no possible advantage to the nation. Mr. Livingston pressed upon the French government the expediency of their selling the country to the United States. The United States, he said, did not desire the territory west of the Mississippi river, and by ceding the district on the eastern side, the respective nations would have the river as a safe boundary, and the claims of American citizens also against France for spoliations could be satisfied. Mr. Madison, the Secretary of State, in representing to Mr. Livingston the sensibility of the western people on this subject, and the reasonableness of this sensibility, said: "The Mississippi to them is everything. It is the Hudson, the Delaware, the Potomac and all the navigable streams of the Atlantic States formed into one stream."‡

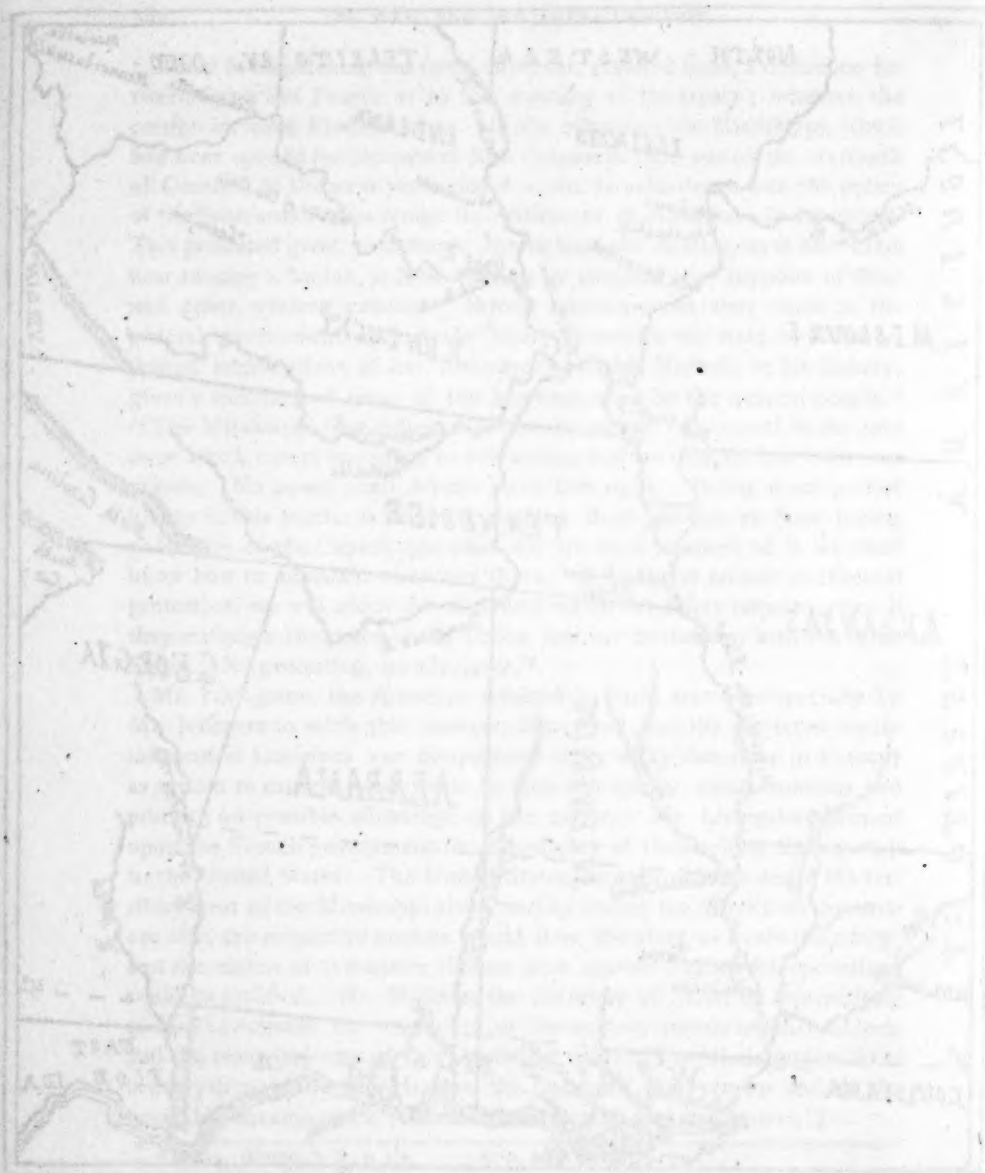
* P. 235. Gayarré, S. D., p. 456.

† Amer. State Pap., II, p. 513.

‡ Gayarré, S. D., p. 473.



MAP OF THE SOUTHWESTERN COUNTRY.



MAP OF THE UNITED STATES

The denial of the right to deposit was taken up in Congress, when it was seen that efforts at negotiation for redress were fruitless, and resolutions were passed in the House to raise eighty thousand troops to vindicate the natural right of the western country to the free navigation of the Mississippi.*

While these negotiations were going on, war was on the point of breaking out again between Great Britain and France, and the prospect of this forced the question of the ownership of the territory to its issue. For if France still held possession after war was declared, Great Britain, which had a fleet in the Gulf of Mexico, would seize Louisiana, and France would lose it and get nothing. On the eleventh of April, 1803, Talleyrand asked † the American minister whether he wished to have the whole of Louisiana. Mr. Livingston, in his reply, showed what to us now seems a singular lack of perception in his estimate of the relative value of the parts in question. Louisiana included then the whole country west of the Mississippi, as far as Mexico and the Pacific, and north as far as the British lines; and also, as the United States then supposed, East and West Florida. It afterwards appeared that East Florida had not been ceded to France by Spain,‡ and therefore could not be sold. When Talleyrand then asked Livingston whether the United States desired to have the whole of the country, Livingston replied that they did not, that they wished only for New Orleans and the Floridas. Talleyrand replied that if France gave New Orleans, the rest would be of little value to her, and he wished an offer from the United States for the whole of it.

The interest was intense on both sides of the ocean. Napoleon had set his heart on this plan for the extension of France; a force was ready to start under Bernadotte to occupy the country; war was instantly impending between France and Great Britain; the ministers of the United States and France were having daily conferences. Our country was still poor, and could not afford to pay large purchase money. The difference between what was first offered, twenty millions, and what France demanded, one hundred millions of francs, made the prospect of agreement remote. To make a result more feasible, and yet with a strange insensibility to the future importance of the region in question, Mr. Livingston even suggested to Mr. Madison that, if only New Orleans and the Floridas could be kept, the purchase money to be paid could be raised by the sale of the

* Gayarré, S. D., p. 492.

† Barbé Marbois, p. 305.

‡ Barbé Mar., p. 313.

territory west of the Mississippi river, with the sovereignty, to some power in Europe, whose vicinity we should not fear.*

At length, on the tenth of April, 1803, Napoleon expressed his purpose to sell, and on the thirtieth the treaty was signed by which the whole of Louisiana, including West Florida, all that had been acquired by France from Spain,† was transferred to the United States, on the condition of the payment of sixty millions of francs, exclusive of the amounts due by France to American citizens on account of spoliations, which account the United States assumed. When Napoleon was informed of the signing of the treaty, he prophetically said: "This accession of territory strengthens forever the power of the United States, and I have given to England a maritime rival that will sooner or later humble her pride.‡"

The first point gained in the effort to secure the reluctant consent of Napoleon to the sale of Louisiana, was the absolute pledge which Mr. Livingston extorted, that the claims of our merchants by reason of the spoliations by French privateers should be paid. This compelled § that something should be done. In the treaty with France in 1778, however, the United States had pledged themselves to France, as one of the conditions of the alliance, to guarantee forever all the possessions in America which France had or should have.|| This was a vast and perpetual obligation, which the United States had not seen the full effect of. This would have to be abrogated. France would only consent to this, however, on the assumption by the United States of the payment of the debts which France owed to our marine for spoliations. Thus the little word "forever," in the treaty,¶ was only redeemed twenty-three years after at the price of ten millions of dollars, which the United States pledged itself to pay, and not one cent of which French claims has up to this time been paid to our citizens.

This whole business had to be concluded in Paris, with no special communications from this country, the United States ministers, Livingston and Monroe who had been specially sent, taking the responsibility. The vote in the Senate to ratify the treaty was twenty-six to six, these last all being from New England. In the debate ** objections were made to the treaty, and strong fears were expressed of the stability of the government with its citizens removed two or three thousand miles from the capital,

* Gayarré S. D., p. 509. † Amer. State P. I. p. 507. ‡ Barbé Mar., p. 314.

§ Oneida Historical Coll., 1881, p. 166. || Treaties U. S. p. 243.

¶ C. F. Adams. Add. N. Y. Hist. Soc., 1870, p. 38. ** Gayarré S. D. p. 561.

where they could scarcely feel the rays of the general government. Senator White of Tennessee declared that he would rather see the territory to the west of the Mississippi *given* to France, to Spain, or to any other nation, upon the mere condition that no citizen of the United States should ever settle within its limits, than to have it *sold* for one hundred millions of dollars, and we retain the sovereignty.

So soon as Spain heard of the sale to the United States,* it vigorously protested, because France had covenanted with her never to part with the country, and it declared that it ought to have had the first chance for purchase. For a time it was thought that Spain would not make a peaceful surrender. The French had sent Laussat to Louisiana as a commissioner to receive the district from Spain, before the cession was made to the United States. On the thirtieth of November, 1803, Spain surrendered Louisiana to France. On the twentieth of December, twenty days after, the tricolored standard of France gave place to the American flag.†

A recognition of the immense issues which were at stake in the possession of the mouth of the Mississippi river will be had in this rapid statement of the varied means used to maintain the control of it, and the reluctance shown in parting with it. The west was constantly becoming a larger factor in the nation; and, in the manifestation of its discontent at the monopolizing by the east of all the great offices, it succeeded in causing the nation to purchase, for an amount which was then quite exhausting, the outlet to its great river and the country beyond, the wealth of which was only afterwards apprehended. Still New Orleans was, at the time of the purchase, virtually a foreign city, with only a comparatively small American colony in it. Many of the Spanish officers remained as residents, ready to sympathize with any movement hostile to the United States, and they had ultimately to be requested by the governor to remove. The purchase of the territory put a stop, however, for some time, to the efforts of the conspirators.

C. F. ROBERTSON.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

* Barbé Mar., p. 345. Gayarré, S. D., p. 535.

† Martin, p. 295. Barbé Mar., p. 352.

BOTH SIDES OF THE RIO GRANDÉ.

By the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, February 2, 1848, the United States obtained more than half of Mexico. The area gained was equal to one hundred and twenty-seven States as large as Massachusetts, and the area left was equal to one hundred and six. This includes Texas, which was not conceded till that treaty was executed.

What next? That has been a growing question for thirty-five years, and is latterly uttered in prominent if not critical tones. Old Mexico, over the Rio Grandé, is rich in fine natural staples. (1) The cabinet woods, as mahogany in its many varieties, rosewood, ebony, lignum vitæ, and many other choice stocks, which enrich our offices, drawing-rooms and boudoirs, and which enter into our more elegant and expensive mechanisms, are found there. Not a few are yet to find their names in commerce and their place in handicraft. What have come to us from the Indies and from African jungles may be had or supplanted in Mexico. (2) Many of the tropical fruits, which come through the Suez Canal and the Straits of Gibraltar, and around Capes Horn and Good Hope, to our wharves and tables, may be found and produced in the fields of this our next door neighbor. The United States is said to import annually fifty million dollars' worth of coffee and seventy million dollars' worth of sugar, which amount Mexico could largely, if not wholly, produce. It is not necessary to repeat the tropical schedule of native products. Before the Mechanics' Association in Boston, not long since, General Grant is reported as saying: "We now do an importation business of nearly \$200,000,000 a year of tropical and semi-tropical products. Mexico could produce the whole of them if she had railroads to give her an outlet for them." (3) Of the cereals, it may be enough to quote Williams' Government Survey of Mexico for the United States, in 1851. Where he speaks of corn, one is inclined to discount the official statement that, in favorable circumstances,

there can be three crops a year, "each yielding seventy bushels to the acre." (4) The precious metals are now the leading and more immediate source of wealth in Mexico. No country can attract the world in this interest as does Mexico. The more staple and civilizing industries of agriculture and manufactures have been underestimated and neglected in the passion for native gold and silver. That mineral country, ours and the Mexicans', is producing year by year two-thirds of all the mined silver of the world. Since the discovery of gold in California, in 1848, the section of Mexico which the United States took produced, in twenty-five years, \$250,000,000 of gold more than the whole world had produced in the preceding three hundred and fifty years. Yet in our division of Mexico it is said that we took the inferior part as to the precious metals.

The commerce of Mexico is yet in its infancy, being reported as \$400,000,000 internal, with exports and imports about \$500,000,000 each. And it must be considered that this amount of commerce, domestic and foreign, has been attained while transportation was quite commonly on the backs of men and mules, and over miserable trails and undredged rivers. At the same time agriculture and mining have been pursued without the applied sciences of the nineteenth century. What, then, may not be expected under an importation or invasion of the laboratory and scientific mechanics, as seen in the steel plough, the cart, the factory and the locomotive?

The population of Mexico is about 10,000,000; by the census of 1880 it was 9,577,279. This gives an average density about the same as in the United States. This population is mainly of the aboriginal and prehistoric race, sometimes called Aztec. About one-fourth of the Mexican blood has a European tinge; only a little of even this one-fourth is Spanish, for so terribly degrading and oppressive had been the Spanish rule from the conquest that, in 1810, the native race revolted, in 1821 established their independence of Spain, and in 1829 banished every Spaniard.

As a people the Mexicans are spasmodic, lacking the mental nerve and persistent energy of purpose which are indispensable in building a State. They show a tendency to decay and extirpation, already so manifest in Arizona, New Mexico and lands farther north, once populous with them. The kind of civilization introduced into New Spain in the century following Cortez and Coronado, with other European and United States influences, have done much to hasten that decay. The historical statement, generally conceded, is a humiliating one, that the pagan life of those pre-

historic peoples was degraded by the advent of civilized and Christian people, so called. As European and American influences went in, morals deteriorated; government became less just, and life was not as safe, easy and happy. The instability and almost imbecility of the Mexicans for self government are seen in the fact that, in the thirty-three years following their conceded independence—1824-1857—they had thirty-five governments and seventy-two executives or administrations.

From what has now been shown to be the agriculture, mining, mechanics, transportation and civilization of Mexico, it will be seen that the forces she has within herself for development are mainly of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The foreign forces now developing Mexico are four—English, French, German and American. In a general and inexact division of business, it may be said that the English have the cottons and other related branches of the foreign trade in staples; the French have the dry goods trade; the Germans the metal wares; while the Americans are assuming the mining and railroad interests. The struggle for foreign preëminence in Mexico is showing itself more and more as between the United States and England. It is easy to be seen that Mexico, rich naturally and so weak nationally, and so temptingly exposed, is liable to come under the leading influence of one of the four nations named, whether by discriminating diplomacy and favoring treaties, or by a protectorate or by absorption, might be a question of time. Each has had its scheme and endeavor to obtain a portion of the old or undivided Mexico.

There was the German colony of 11,000 in Texas, planted under the auspices of Frederick William, Crown Prince of Prussia, while the annexation of that province to the United States was in warm agitation. In 1846 the scheme was lost, when territory and colony became a part of the United States.

Since 1759, and their total defeat on the Plains of Abraham, the French have not been without a longing and purpose, if not a plan, to reinstate themselves in North America. In 1838-39 France made a demand on Mexico of \$600,000 as indemnity for damage to French interests during Mexican revolutions. As the demand could not be met, France blockaded the Mexican ports, but in the presence of England and the United States she did not presume to go in and take possession. Mexico pleaded inability on the ground that she was "a nation always agitated by revolution: as such suffered all the consequences of a state of revolution, popular

tumults, robberies, plunderings, assassinations and unjust devices." If foreigners came in for trade, they must do it at their own risk. "If it was obligatory on the government to indemnify foreigners for all the exactions and expenses they have endured, all the treasures of the republic would not suffice." This was, perhaps, a good defense, but also a confession of weakness that exposed her to the seizure of the strong. Before the transfer of California, France saw that that territory was floating quite adrift from the central government of Mexico, and, as a waif, might be picked up on the high seas of any civil storm. Hence, she kept a good fleet in California waters till others took the prize.

In 1860, in the distracted condition of Mexico, the ecclesiastical and aristocratic party are said to have had agents in Europe to find a Spanish prince who would accept their crown. This agency may or may not have led to it; but, when the United States were in a gigantic war for life, England, France and Germany entered into an alliance to demand of Mexico a better government and the payment of certain dues. The allied fleets landed 25,000 troops, and Maximilian was to succeed to the halls of the Montezumas. When, however, the United States saw their way clear through their domestic troubles to make an energetic intimation to Napoleon, the foreign troops were withdrawn, and poor Maximilian, abandoned to his visions, was driven to the wall by an outraged people, and shot as an invader. The Abbé Domenech unfolds the whole French scheme in this invasion: "Behind the Mexican expedition there was more than an empire to found, a nation to save, markets to create, thousands of millions to develop; there was a world tributary to France, happy to submit to our sympathetic influence, to receive their supplies from, us, and to ascribe to us their resurrection to the political and social life of a civilized people. The abbé does not indicate how far up into the ancient Louisiana this "empire" was to extend.

Nor may we suppose that it is only a canal interest that France is taking on the isthmus of Tehuantepec. From that dark thirteenth of September, 1759, at Quebec, to these late days, she has not ceased to mourn the affliction of that day, and to trail her flag to a sad refrain. Even as late as the last National Exposition, the French commissioner renewed the grieving. We must think that they watch for the day when they may lay aside mourning. What Napoleon said to Livingstone when selling Louisiana, has in it enough of truth and of regret to ensure its remembrance with Frenchmen: "A magnificent bargain; an empire for a

mere trifle." And though De Tocqueville's words may express only regretful memories, they are fitted to beget longings, and, with some, anticipations: "Louisburg, Montmorency, Duquesne, Saint Louis, Vincennes, New Orleans, are words dear to France and familiar to our ears."*

It will remain for a score or two of years to show whether the canal of Lesseps, if finished, means anything beyond commercial dividends. More than one, or two, or three, vain struggles for the recovery of their loved and lost southwest are suggestive. Moreover, the malediction of Philip II. of Spain, 1544-98—him of the invincible armada—has lost its terrors, with that iron reign of fifty-four years. When, in his reign, such a canal was proposed, "his majesty decreed that no one should, in future, attempt, or even propose such an undertaking, under pain of death."

Of the English effort to gain entrance and a dominion over our southwest and within Mexico, there are several cases of interest. In Balize they began, by the sufferance of the Spanish, in cutting dyewoods, and have now arrived to a claim of territory one hundred and sixty miles by sixty—larger than Massachusetts by more than a thousand square miles. From time to time treaties with Spain were made by which "all fortifications which English subjects had erected in the bay of Honduras and other places of the territory of Spain in that part of the world," were to be destroyed. This in 1763. By permit the lumbermen remained. Twenty years later it was necessary to stipulate in another treaty that this permit "should not be considered as derogating from the rights of sovereignty of the king of Spain." The English so alarmed the Spanish king by their encroachments that a new treaty, in 1786, stipulates that the English tenant may take not only woods, but "other fruits of the earth purely natural and uncultivated," but the erection of fortifications was forbidden, and "the formation of any system of government, either civil or military." Yet, without any of the legitimate rights of sovereignty there, the government now is *de facto* English, and it has become so by invasion, *finesse* and the military.

By similar intrusion the English assumed the control of the Mosquito shore—an extent of seven hundred miles—from Cape Honduras south to Chiriqui Lagoon, and covering, of course, the present very important Nicaragua coast. This was Spanish dominion, yet the English assumed sovereignty here about 1740, and set up the claim and title of protectorate over the Indians. Then similar treaties were made as concerning Balize,

* Democracy in America, Bowen's ed., vol. 1, p. 551.

while the English outgrew the treaties and defied the Spanish. In 1848, England assumed to proclaim this "protectorate" inland so far as to cover one half of Honduras, Nicaragua and Costa Rica, and she did it in the name of the Mosquito king, an Indian boy living with an Englishman, and surrounded with the trinkets and show of Indian royalty. The presumptuous claim covered, of course, the port of San Juan, the terminus of the proposed canal. The United States at once took up the cause of Central America as against Great Britain, and the Clayton-Bulwer convention was the result in 1850.

For some years prior to the annexation of Texas, English capital had become invested quite freely in the undivided Mexico. It was in the form of loans, secured on territory, and in purchases and in investments in mining, and somewhat in manufacturing. One English author estimates the total as high as \$860,000,000—probably a diplomatic estimate. When, therefore, the United States offered, in 1835, to purchase the northern portion of California, and so much of the original New Mexico as would have embraced the most of Nevada and one-third of the present New Mexico, Colorado and Utah, the English government prevented the sale. Also, before the annexation, the United States entered into negotiation for the purchase of Texas, but England interposed. After the war opened these negotiations were renewed, and England renewed her opposition, and successfully.

The opposition of Great Britain to this peaceful solution of the difficulty of the times was soon obvious. The English Consul, Forbes, was intriguing with General Pico and General Castro, of California, to introduce a colony under one MacNamara, an Irish priest, bring to pass a revolution, and put California under an English protectorate. The very opportune appearance and energetic movements of Fremont in California spoiled the plan and sent Admiral Seymour home without honors. The uncertainty of Governor Simpson was relieved: "The only doubt is whether California is to fall to the British or to the Americans."†

In 1879 a bill of contract was prepared to come before the Mexican Congress, by the English owners of bonds and securities, enabling these foreign capitalists to construct and control a system of railroads in Mexico. This was a wise endeavor for English bondholders and English ambitions for territory, since he who holds the highways holds the country. It is

† Narrative of a Journey Round the World, by Sir George Simpson, Governor-in-Chief of the Hudson Bay Company. London, 1847. Vol. 1: 408.

also stated that during the same year the ratification of a treaty was sought by the agents of English, French and German interests, to declare the country neutral for a radius of one hundred miles around Greytown, the Atlantic terminus of the Nicaragua transit. The project failed, but the attempt files in information, and its success would have given unfortunate status and power for foreign interference in American affairs, and, probably, in the near future, would have given European control from the Rio Grandé to Panama.

In the memoirs of Talleyrand, withheld from publication according to his request till thirty years after his decease, which occurred in 1838, is this suggestive passage: "On the side of America, Europe must always have her eyes open and not furnish any pretext for recrimination or refusals. America is increasing every day. She will become a colossal power, and a moment must arrive when, placed in more easy communication with Europe by means of new discoveries, she will wish to say her word in our affairs and have a hand in them. Political prudence, therefore, imposes on governments of the old continent the care of scrupulously watching that no pretext shall be offered for such an intervention. The day when America shall plant her foot in Europe, peace and security will be banished for a long time." This is the Monroe doctrine Europeanized, and equally good for either side of the Atlantic.

The Hudson Bay governor, in his book already quoted, seems not to have been in accord with the doctrine, not then issued, of the great European statesman, for he says: "England and Russia, whether as friends or as foes, cannot fail to control the destiny of the human race, for good or for evil, to an extent which comparatively confines every other nation within the scanty limits of its own proper locality." §

This was written in 1841, but before the work was published the United States owned 1,743 miles of Pacific shore, and now owns 6,411, not including the coast indentations of Alaska and the islands.

In addition to the European designs on Mexican and Central American territory, and their outcome, it is enough to refer only to what has been already stated concerning the United States and their action in the same direction.

It is obvious under, at least, four reasons, why the leading nations covet a strong influence in Mexico and the Central American States. (1) This region possesses unusual natural wealth; and, from its long boundaries of

§ Ibid. Vol. 1: 272.

a narrow belt on tide water, it invites peculiarly to commerce. (2) In shipping interests of the international kind, as between Europe and the Atlantic coast of the United States on the one side, and Japan, China, the Indies and Australia and the Pacific coast of the United States on the other, the region in question takes the converging lines, with only a narrow land belt for a "carry," as the canoe men say. (3) The aboriginal and mixed races occupying the country are weak and wasting, and are in no way competent to put that unusual natural wealth in the market of the world. In this regard it is the Turkey, or Egypt, or Natal, or Tonquin or Annam of America. (4) The remaining countries to be coveted by the strong nations are fast becoming fewer. The world is smaller than in the days of Alexander. It is hoped that, bye and bye, in the advance to higher civilizations, a code of national ethics will be attained, so that an inferior people may be treated fairly and justly, as now an inferior person is under a good government. As yet, however, it is painfully interesting to notice how the strong governments loan money to the weak ones, or make internal improvements for them, and then go in to collect the interest with artillery and come out with mortgages and land titles. Iron-clads and invading armies are being used to elevate pagan people, and to develop their lands up to a good commercial standard. Then, Christian missions follow to offer to the vanquished and despoiled the religion of their conquerors and oppressors, as if it were the Christmas carol of peace and good-will toward men.

Besides, the general relation of the United States to the governments in the south, we hold peculiar ones to Mexico. A boundary between the two of 1,572 miles suggests interests in common and laws and obligations of national neighborhood, such as could pertain to no government across the ocean.

Moreover, the commerce of the valley of the Mississippi tends naturally to an outlet through Mexico to the Pacific and the ancient east. That valley is larger by one half than the Old Roman Empire, and is drained into the Mexican gulf by more than 15,000 miles of navigable rivers. Few people realize how much nearer it is from the valley to the Pacific by going across Mexico, than by using our own railroads. New Orleans may be, and soon will be, 726 miles nearer to the Pacific than to San Francisco. Even St. Louis will soon be 650 nearer to the Pacific by rail than it now is to San Francisco. Interior Omaha, the last large eastern city before we enter the west proper, and so far on the way to the Pacific at San

Francisco, is 150 nearer the Mexican way "as the crow flies." And in the triumphs of science and money combined, locomotives are getting quite in the way of going as the crow does. New York is 784 miles nearer to the Pacific through Mexico than by the Golden Gate; or, to put the case more boldly for Pacific commerce, San Antonio, a leading Texan city, is 339 miles nearer to the Pacific than it is to St. Louis, taking rail direct each way. Undoubtedly commerce will soon take the shortest route to market, and the laws of trade will prepare the way for the laws of nations.

After the civil war, the United States found leisure and energy to utilize some of her fifty-five national and inter-oceanic surveys, by considering the south part of our continent. Mexico then began to realize that her strongest and best friend was her nearest neighbor, when scientists went in and showed them a better way of working in agriculture, mechanics and mining. Immense ranches were bought, lying off right and left in many square leagues; abandoned mines were also bought and lost ones discovered by experts and put under work or on the market. The amount of capital that has gone in quietly and obscurely from the business north is princely. That "pleasure excursion," so called, through Mexico, in the summer of 1875, consisting of capitalists, railroad kings and broad speculators, was no rollicking and recruiting affair, as if among the cool hills and rivers of Canada.

Between the death of Maximilian—Mexico's new lease of life—and January 8, 1881, the Mexican Congress passed one hundred and one legislative and executive acts for the encouragement of railroad construction. Of course the enterprise was overdone, but in August of that year the Americans held charters for twenty-seven railroads in Mexico. Of the thirty-three granted up to January, 1879, nineteen were to citizens of the United States, four went abroad, and ten were retained by Mexicans.*

It has been stated that the Mexicans are diminishing in numbers. They once held sway as a numerous people to the Sabine, to Northern Utah and to the borders of Oregon. Those left now are the remnant of a great prehistoric race, and may maintain a separate nationality as a race. But with their inherited and growing weaknesses and tendencies, nothing probably can save them from absorption or extinction but some of the strongest and best forces of modern civilization. The American relations and alliances now mentioned will, of course, hasten a closer and more amicable

*Report of Secretary of Finance of Mexico, January, 1879.

state of things along the boundary of fifteen hundred and seventy-two miles, and inland both ways, to the city of Mexico and to Washington.

Such are some of the relations, financial and civil, hinted rather than unfolded, between these two coterminous governments. The speed of events will have much to do with these relations in a decade or so of years. In a letter to James Warren, President of the Massachusetts Provincial Congress, Samuel Adams says: "The wheels of Providence seem to be in their swiftest motion." Adams was then sitting in Congress in Philadelphia, when twenty days were a fair time for questions and answers (news) between that city and Boston. Since those times steam and the telegraph and telephone have added wonderfully to the motion of the "wheels of Providence" in the civil and political world, to which the statesman was referring. Now Boston whispers to Philadelphia and then turns away the lips only to open and turn the ear for the answer. In this speed and rush of events one catches the breath in thinking what may take place on either side of the Rio Grandé within the next ten years. One would feel differently if moral, educational and civilizing forces were wont to work as rapidly as financial, civil and political ones.

This consideration turns us for a moment to the study of a few facts on the American side of our river boundary. It was on the fourth of August, 1846, that General Kearney run out his cannon over the bluff, which he had converted into Fort Marcy, and with their muzzles looking down on Santa Fé, demanded the surrender of New Mexico to the United States. The surrender cost no blood and but little time, when the general went down to the old adobe palace and read the proclamation of the change of sovereignty and of government.

That military and civil act of twenty-four hours needed to be followed up by the civilizing, educating and Christianizing forces of two or three generations to complete what the sword began, and make the conquered homogeneous with the conquering. Eminently our kind of government is made stable only in education and the Christian virtues, of which we gained almost nothing in that annexation. We then annexed a belt of danger to the United States, and let it alone. Since that day American philanthropy and Christian benevolence have gleaned the world for open fields and suffering objects, but have painfully and almost totally neglected our newly acquired and sadly unfit citizens, all the way from the Mormaic city to the Rio Grandé and San Diego. Save the item of Federal money, the southwest portion of the annexation has served to Mexi-

canize the United States. Private and primary schools were appearing here and there after our flag had been in the country thirty years. We found one in Las Animas, in 1880, a womanly enterprise of six weeks from Indiana. The walls of the first public school-house were then rising. Santa Fé was some in advance on the private side, and in Albuquerque we found a missionary of one of our National societies prospecting for an opening for a Protestant church. He succeeded, and planted there the first church in New Mexico, after holding the country thirty-four years. One started the same year in Arizona, and the year following in Santa Fé. Long years before, Dr. Bushnell had uttered his warm and anxious words in the ears of a national society for Christianizing the land: "What less than a romantic folly could it seem, to any sober mind, if such indeed were the alternative, to be pouring out our mercies into the obscure outposts of heathenism, and leaving this great Nation, the brightest hope of the ages, to go down as a frustrated and broken experiment." But the neglect continued, and the darkness deepened on our belt of danger. Latterly the United States Government is wrestling vigorously and doubtfully with one of the several evils which have grown up there, stalwart and undisturbed—the American harem. It should be mortifying that moral evils are neglected by the church till the civil power is forced to take them in hand, in simple defense of the State, and not very successfully.

It is supposed to be generally true that investments on our borders for a Christian civilization, produce greater results in ten years than the same could in fifty in the established east. Some of the men are yet living who, in a skiff, paddled Christianity and a college across the Mississippi into Iowa territory. That boat load was equivalent to any round million, planted for similar purposes, anywhere east of the Hudson river. Probably no openings more needy or more hopeful for benevolent work in civilization, can be found than in our southwest—the American side of the Rio Grandè; and it is due to the Republic as well as to Christianity, that the opportunities be seized and dangers fended off.

The provincial policy, however, that has been apparent and seems to have been unconscious, will require some variations, if the country immediately north of this boundary is assimilated to the older Republic. This may be illustrated by an example or two. The same year, 1846, Iowa and Texas came into the Union with about equal populations. The Rio Grandè State is five times the size of its twin sister of the north, and is

passing it in numbers, wealth, and other elements of civil strength. By the agency of one of our national organs for Christian civilization, during the thirty-eight years that these two States have been in the Union, Iowa has averaged eighty-eight Christian missionaries a year, and Texas twenty-seven thirty-fourths of one missionary a year.

In 1861, Dakota was organized into a Territory; and in 1850 New Mexico, and Arizona in 1863. The former had about 150,000 square miles, and the other two, jointly, about 100,000 more. In 1880, Dakota had 134,000 inhabitants and seventeen Christian missionaries of the national organ referred to; the other two, 25,000 more people and no Christian missionary. In 1883, Dakota had fifty-five, and the others had two each. Each of these two waited thirty-eight years for its first pioneer of a Christian civilization from this national agency.

Arkansas has now been in the Union forty-eight years, and never but three years had more than one missionary, and for thirty-five years had none, reckoning down to 1884.

The Christian philanthropist is barred from the plea of the sinfulness of any one of these southern and neglected sections by the divine policy that where sin abounds grace should much more abound.

The power of Christianity is here referred to in no narrow sense, but rather as an embodiment of the forces which organize society, enact laws, sustain government, promote worldly thrift, give nurture to learning, and crown community with the beatitudes.

While much is done to obliterate any color line that may limit benevolence, it might be wise to enquire for any lines of latitude or of geography needing removal. And the old pagan and Christian fable of the body and its members might be studied with a profit to some improvement on the provincial policy. "Those members of the body which we think to be less honorable, upon these we bestow more abundant honor, that there should be no schism in the body. For if one member suffer, all the members suffer with it."

W. BARROWS.

THE BATTLE OF THE PENINSULA, SEPTEMBER 29, 1812.

Let the reader take a map of Ohio, find Sandusky bay, which indents the southern shore of Lake Erie, and he will note north of it a considerable body of land, traversed in part by the little Portage river and nearly surrounded by water, forming what is called the peninsula. This—as were also some of the lands about the head of the bay—was among the points early occupied by pioneer settlers of northern Ohio. Here, on the twenty-ninth of September, 1812, occurred the first hostile meeting—two skirmishes—between a small body of the State militia and the Indians, of the war of 1812—usually called by the few who ever heard of them the Battle of the Peninsula—very sharp affairs for the numbers engaged. Curiously enough, no report of them can be found in the war office; it is supposed none was ever made. I know of no book that contains any account of them.

The late Joshua Reed Giddings, then a fine, well grown youth of sixteen, was present in the affairs. On his return to camp he wrote with pokeberry juice, on whitey-brown paper, a spirited account of them to his mother, and many years later a detailed sketch of the adventures of his party on the peninsula, of which these were the important parts, published first in the Ladies' Repository, and copied into some of the newspapers of the time. From this last, and data from other sources, I prepare this paper for the editor of this Magazine.

To bring the affair within the easy apprehension of the younger generation sought to be interested in the beginnings of western history, it may be premised: The years of angry and embittered feeling between the United States and Great Britain culminated in a declaration of war by the American Congress, June 18, 1812. Anticipating this action, Dr. William Eustis, then Madison's Secretary of War, dispatched General Hull, with an army of something over two thousand men, to Detroit, consisting of a part of the Fourth Infantry, under Colonel James Miller, which fought at

the Tippecanoe under Boyd in the October before and carried the enemy's artillery at Lundy's Lane, led by Miller, later; three regiments of Ohio volunteers, the first commanded by Colonel Duncan McArthur, the second by Colonel James Findlay, and the third by Colonel Lewis Cass. The rendezvous of these soldiers was at the mouth of Mad river, a confluent of the Big Miami.* Urbana, the then frontier town, seat of Champaign county, was the point of departure. North to Detroit was a distance of two hundred miles, across the swampy watershed between the basin of the lakes and the valley of the Ohio. Roads had to be cut and bridges and log-ways built. The little army left Urbana about the first of June, and reached Detroit barely in time to celebrate the fourth of July. Its declared purpose was to hold the western Indians, then the Wyandots, Senecas and Delawares of Ohio; the Miamis, Shawnees, the Pottawatomies and others of the Wabash, in check. The real object was to be ready to seize upon Upper Canada, as the province of Ontario was then called. The Western Reserve contributed very few soldiers to this expedition, than which our history shows no other so faulty in plan, command and execution. It wallowed through to the Maumee; it heard nothing from the department. When Hull struck the lake he placed his baggage—papers of himself and officers—on board the little Cuyahoga, for transportation to Detroit. The British, better informed, captured it. The force was left wholly unsupported—could not keep its own communication open. Later, when Captain Brush reached Frenchtown (now Monroe) with supplies, the Americans fought two considerable battles, and made three ineffective efforts to reach and conduct him forward. The distance was but little more than twenty miles. Hull crossed the Detroit river and spent a month in Canada, where his only exploits were promulgating a spirited proclamation, written by Colonel Cass; the carrying of a bridge over the Taronte by the same officer, who killed an Indian and gained from the enemy the title of "Hero of the Taronte" for the exploit; and his retreat to the American side, August 8. Brock, with two or three hundred men, reached Amherstburg (Malden) in open boats, from Long Point, on the evening of August 13. He spent the fourteenth and fifteenth in preparation, and crossed on the morning of the sixteenth (Sunday). He had

* NOTE.—There were three Miami rivers in Ohio, named by the natives. The one distinguished as the Miami of the Lakes came in time to be called the Maumee, a popular anglicising of the French pronunciation of Miami.

about eight hundred regulars and militia, and Tecumseh, who crossed the afternoon before, led between ten and twelve hundred Indians. To this force Hull surrendered his whole army, the fort, the Michigan militia and the regulars of Michigan. Captain Elliott* hurried off to Frenchtown to receive the submission of Captain Brush and drive his cattle and carry his stores to Amherstburg. Brush and his party had never become a part of Hull's command; and though their feet were on the surrendered soil, he laughed at the half-breed, headed his drove southward, drew out of the little stockade, soon to become so memorable, and escaped through the woods to Urbana.

It is now a matter of history and tradition, how the news of the fall of Detroit was received by the scattered pioneers of the Western Reserve. There can be few who remember it. The northwestern army was captive to a man. The British had the stout Queen Charlotte of seventeen guns, the Lady Provost of thirteen, the Hunter of ten, and two or three smaller craft on Lake Erie; a considerable lake marine from which to recruit serviceable seamen for war. The Americans had not a ship or soldier. There was, as I believe, a small stockade at Cleveland, and a small stockade at the head of Sandusky bay, which was rebuilt the winter following, and became Fort Stephenson. Here was stored a quantity of pork and beef for Hull's army. The work was built for the protection of the few settlers in the vicinity.

Mackinac had fallen; Fort Dearbon, on the Chicago river, had been surrendered to the Indians and most of the garrison massacred. Major Muir with Tecumseh's Indians swarmed out and invested Fort Wayne at the junction of the St. Mary's and St. Joseph; Fort Harrison, on the Wabash, near the present city of Terre Haute, commanded by Captain Zachary Taylor. These were our two strong posts of the northwest.

Dr. Eustis remembered a very gallant young officer of thirty years before, by the name of James Winchester, a native of Maryland, then living in opulence in Tennessee, an officer of the old army, a gentleman of the older school, who had never heard the war-whoop, and knew no more of border war or the new Napoleon tactics than of life in the back settlements of Kentucky and on the Western Reserve. He had him appointed a brigadier in the regular service, and now assigned him to the command of the northwestern army, to spring into existence by the

* He was half-blood son of Colonel Elliott, the father a Marylander and Indian superintendent, once so odious through our western border.

spontaneous action of the people, who looked to quite another man to command them, a man now forgotten, or, when named, slightly spoken of by the grandsons of the noble men who did know him, and whom, by his genius, skill and courage, he conducted to victory. He had winning manners and popular address. He was one of the three or four ablest commanders of entirely raw troops of our country.

He for the time was overlooked. The strategist of the invasion of Canada West, the discoverer of the new general to command the army not yet existing on paper, nor in contemplation of law, which yet takes notice of legal fictions, had seemingly not yet heard of the governor of the Northwest Territory, W. H. Harrison. Though never a citizen of Kentucky, the governor of that State—under the advice of Henry Clay, the champion of the war, and other men of his rank—appointed him a major-general of the State of Kentucky, and assigned him as commander-in-chief of all her militia. Governor Meigs, of Ohio, and Governor Edwards, of the Territory of Missouri, placed the militias of Ohio and Missouri, when called into service, under his command. His first action was to send a column of Kentuckians to raise the siege of Fort Harrison,* and another from Ohio to relieve Fort Wayne. They pushed forward and barely saved the indomitable Zachary Taylor in command, then a captain. Fort Wayne was not reduced to the same extremity. Meantime Harrison had been appointed brigadier-general, but his field of service had limits that made him hesitate to accept it. While he was yet at Fort Wayne, the new general, Winchester, made his appearance, and Harrison promptly turned the command over to him, a man of aristocratic bearing and exclusive manners. The Ohio men refused to follow him—mutinied, in fact. Harrison, who was a fine popular speaker, addressed them at length upon the duties of a citizen soldiery, and so effectively that they cheerfully submitted to the new commander.

It will be remembered that Harrison, though he had secured no strictly military education, had seen considerable service. As a captain of regulars he served with Wayne, was his chief of staff, in fact—and planned the order of march, and necessarily the order of the battle, known variously as the Battle of the Rapids, and the Battle of the Fallen Timber, fought on the west side of the Maumee, against the combined Indians under Blue-Jacket, Little Turtle and the famous Turkeytracks.

* Fort Harrison was built by General Harrison the autumn before, on his advance against the Prophet. His officers named it.

On thus becoming the commander of the forces of the States and territories, Harrison established his headquarters at the little town of Franklinton, on the west side of the Scioto, opposite the present city of Columbus, and then, and for many years, the capital of the infant State of Ohio.

The fall of Detroit was a rude awakening from security by the thin and sparse settlements of the Western Reserve scattered along the southern shore of the lake, from the peninsula to the Pennsylvania line, and dotting the woods at isolated points from the lake to the southern line of the Reserve, accessible from the lake, wholly in command of the enemy, as stated. It must be remembered also that the pioneers of this region were not borderers by birth, woodsmen, hunters and Indian fighters like the western Pennsylvanians, Virginians and Kentuckians. They were farmers from out of the older and most peace-loving part of the country, with only the traditions of the Pequot, Narragansett and King Philip's wars, and the border forays of the French and Indians. The fathers and elder brothers of some of them had been soldiers in the Revolution. They were youngerly married men, with families of young children, averse from war, and with no grudges or prejudices against the Indians, many bands of whom they found on or near the lands they purchased.

Very soon came the widely diffused word that the British and Indians had landed somewhere from Sandusky bay, or its neighborhood, in force, and were marching east to sweep the border. It probably was at about the time that Major Muir, of the Forty-first British foot—Brock's old regiment—stationed at Malden, with a few regulars, and many Indians, advanced against the two forts, Wayne and Harrison, as stated, that Omic and something over 100 warriors made a boat expedition from Frenchtown to the bay, where he landed. Very likely a magnified rumor of his visit ran eastward, diffusing itself through the woods.* All able-bodied men, with such arms as were at hand, rushed to the defense of Cleveland, while along the lake coast the deserted women and children made one day's journey eastward to escape, returning the following day reassured.

For military purposes the Reserve constituted a militia brigade, under the command of General Simon Perkins of Warren.† There was a reg-

* Omic seems to have spared the settlers. Just what his purpose was is not clear.

† There may be doubt of the exact accuracy of this statement. General Paine, of Painesville, was also a brigadier-general.

ular order issued, and at the least one regiment soon took the field, or, accurately speaking, the woods. This was commanded by Colonel Richard Hays of Hartford, Trumbull county, from which half of its soldiers were drawn, the rest from the southern tier of the townships of Ashtabula County, Captain Parker's company from northern Geauga, Captain Dull's from Portage county, and, as is said, a company from Cuyahoga county—eight companies in all. This regiment was marched west to the Huron river, accompanied by General Perkins, and encamped on the right bank, some three miles below the present town of Milan. Captain Edward Paine of Chardon, a son and aid of General Paine, was at this time stationed with a company from Geauga, mostly mounted, at a small prairie near the Sandusky—an independent body of volunteers, as I believe.†

Colonel Hays established a camp on high ground, called Camp Avery, where very soon a large number of his soldiers were prostrated with bilious fever. The camp was organized about the twentieth of September. How long General Perkins remained at this point I do not know. About the twenty-fifth, Major Frasier was sent forward to the little stockade at Lower Sandusky (to become famous as Fort Stephenson ten months later) with one hundred and fifty men. From this point he sent forward Captain Parker, with twenty men, to the mouth of the Portage river, then called by the longer English, "Carrying river," which the reader will observe empties into the lake northerly and above Sandusky bay. The object of Major Frasier, beyond observation, was to remove the pork and beef stored in the stockade, left there when the place was abandoned on the fall of Detroit. On the twenty-sixth, the major loaded four boats with the stores to be taken to Camp Avery. The voyage would be down the bay, and down the lake to the mouth of the Huron, some ten miles below the bay. Frasier seems then to have called in his scouts and returned. The crews in charge of the boats found the lake too rough for their craft, and put back to what was then called Bull's Island, in the bay, some six miles from its northerly shore—the peninsula—which I do not find on my map. They landed on the east side of the island. From here they sent a small reconnoitering party to the peninsula. With this party was a young Ramsdall, who lived there, near what was known as the "Two Harbors." The party approached the deserted Ramsdall dwelling, and discovered it in the possession of a party of Indians, feasting on roasted corn and

†Captain Paine is my authority for this. He was the clerk of Geauga county. He carried the records of the court and hid them in a rocky ravine not far from the town of Chardon, before he started.

honey, found on the place. By their count the enemy numbered forty-seven, while they had but four or five. They stole back and reported to their party on Bull's Island. The party, united, was too small to cope with the Indians. They immediately pushed to Cedar Point, the eastern point of the main land, at the mouth of the bay. From there they dispatched an express to Camp Avery, with a report of their discovery of the enemy.

He reached headquarters at five P. M., on Sunday, September 28. The regiment, with the return of Frasier, was reduced by sickness to two guards of two sections each, so that each man was on duty one-fourth of the time. When it was known that there was a party of hostile Indians on the peninsula, Captain Josiah T. Cotton, then of Austintown, had permission to go and attack them with a detachment of volunteers. Young Giddings was on duty at the time. On his return he found them beating for the volunteers. On hearing the object he fell in with the party, marching along the line of the troops mustered for that purpose.

The party consisted of sixty-four, officers and privates. Captain Cotton had the assistance of Lieutenants Ranney and Bartholomew. The soldiers had thirty minutes for supper, and, taking leave of their comrades, they marched off through the night and forest. The detachment reached Cedar Point about four o'clock the ensuing morning, to the great relief of the waiting party there. The boats were unloaded, and the party embarked, accompanied by eight of those awaiting their arrival at Cedar Point. Of these was young Ramsdall, who would act as a guide. The party pulled across the bay, landed at what was then called "The Middle Orchard," nearly opposite Bull's Island, at sunrise, mustering seventy-two on shore.

Cotton seems to have been left without orders or instructions. The party were volunteers from the various companies, of the loosest notions of discipline or its necessity. It will be seen that, while they acted in concert by a sort of comity, each in exigencies pursued his own judgement, which with some, under the long strain, was unequal to the demand upon it.

Cotton's plan of movement seems judicious. Eight men were left in charge of the boats, with instructions to return toward Bull's Island, where was a high growth of rushes, and take cover in them and await orders. They were under no circumstances to leave or show themselves. The main body, forty men, with flanking parties of twelve men each on each

side, moved along the road toward the Two Harbors, where it expected to find the enemy. Sergeant Hamilton commanded the right guard and Sergeant Root the left. They found, in plenty, signs of the very recent presence of the Indians, all of whom were now absent. Their fires were still burning, though they discovered no indications of their intention to return. They unquestionably had boats, and may have left the bay. Cotton seems to have made no effort to discover a trail and follow the enemy he came to look for and fight.

Near the lake the party had passed a field of wheat; the owner had returned, and was anxious to secure it. Apparently there was nothing else to do, and one of the flank guards, the left, aided in finishing the harvest. The forty men under Cotton and the other returned to Ramsdall's house, and soon started back towards the landing on the same road, flanked on one side. The left guard was to move from the wheatfield on a shorter line, to take its place on the other flank, at a named point. The return commenced at ten or eleven A. M., the distance unknown to us.

Cotton, his men in two files, his right flank protected. His left guard, under Sergeant Root, was on its way as directed, when it was fired upon. Ramsdall was acting as its guide. The ground was an open wood, covered with tall, rank grass. From this cover the Indians rose directly in front, fired almost simultaneously, gave the war-whoop and disappeared. Ramsdall seems to have been a target. He fell dead, having received several shots through the body.

Another soldier was disabled. Root directed his men to take cover behind the trees, and by his coolness and skill they held their ground, the soldiers, many of them armed with rifles, firing only when some part of an enemy was in sight, so that, after the first fire by the Indians, the firing was desultory. Before they could reload, the Americans were securely covered. Cotton's men, the main body, broke ranks when the sound of the Indian volley reached their ears. Each man rushed to the aid of the imperiled Root. As each approached he became circumspect. The whistling of bullets advised him to be prudent. For a time after the arrival of aid the firing was quite spirited. There were frequent yells from the Indians, many times answered by similar amateur responses from the Americans. During the gunnery practice, several of the Indians were seen removing dead or wounded or both. As if by common consent, fifteen or twenty minutes after Cotton arrived, hostilities ceased. It was not a position he wished to hold. The force in his front made it

imprudent, in the woods, with his numbers, to attempt an advance. He ordered a retreat from it, and most of his immediate command retreated with him. They took up a new position, some sixty rods in the rear. A few men, with a sergeant named Rice,† attached themselves to Root's command, with which the battle began, and remained on his ground till it was certain the enemy had retired, when the two intrepid sergeants also retired to Cotton's new position.

Cotton now ordered the men to take up the line of march to the landing direct. Rice refused to obey this order till the dead and wounded were brought from the field. He was directed to take one-half of the party and execute this duty, which he did with promptness. Two were found dead; a third died after reaching Cotton's position. Here a grave was made, between two logs, and the three men buried, the traces carefully removed. Three or four were wounded, but one was rendered unable to march. It should be stated that the right flank guard, under Sergeant Hamilton, were so remote that they did not reach the point of attack until the firing had nearly ceased.

The march was now resumed—a return to the landing—the party deeming the enemy repulsed. Seemingly Cotton did not care to exterminate him now. Apparently his force was considerable, and as he had taken no scalps, it was the expectation that they would encounter him again before reaching the boats. The order of march was the same as in the morning—the main body in the road, with the same flanking parties. When within sight of Middle Orchard clearing, on the right of the road appeared two Indians, who, played at being surprised, turned and ran. Some of the soldiers in front, broke and ran in pursuit, as was expected. They were called to, but kept on, when suddenly a heavy fire was delivered, the Indians being all under cover. Fortunately, though the range was short, not a man was struck. The position of the Indians, in the direction of the march, placed them between the Americans and the bay. The firing had been kept up some five minutes when Hamilton and his guard—the right—came up. He had fallen to the rear of the main body and approached the enemy's left flank. He delivered an effective fire, which put the enemy to flight, leaving two or three Indians on the ground. They retreated across the road, in front of the Americans, now augmented by the arrival of Root's left guard. On gaining the

† Rice belonged to the company of young Giddings' command, of great physical power, cool and intrepid courage.

American left, the Indians faced about and resumed the fight, which ran on for some minutes very sharply.

There was a deserted log cabin in some cleared ground, which it would seem the Americans had passed, in which Cotton deemed it best to take cover. Mr. Giddings calls his approach to it, a retreat. He gave the order. The movement was executed with the irregularity that attended some of the maneuvers of this singularly cool and plucky party of raw New Englanders, in some of their trying positions. This was now most unfortunate. Cotton and about twenty others retired and secured the coveted cover. The residue, among whom was my historian, maintained the fight where they were. After a few minutes, these, by common consent, lost heart and retreated, as he again calls it, toward the house. Instead of entering it, which they easily could have done, they passed it, and covered by it from the eyes of the pursuing Indians, got off. The enemy must have supposed they had all found shelter in it. On their approach to it a well directed fire from Cotton's party sent them out of sight, or out of range. Here, for the time, a long one, we leave them. Those who thus passed the building were about thirty in number, who pushed for the landing of the morning. They reached it to find two boats, both scuttled, a little distance from the shore; the other two and the guard were missing. Leaving this disappointed and disheartened party, of which was young Giddings, on the shore of the bay, not deeming it prudent to turn back to Cotton's fortress, whom they sometimes obeyed as a commander and sometimes treated or ran away from as a comrade—leaving him to hold his fort as he might, I turn to look after the absent guard of eight and the two missing boats.

After an hour or two, Corporal Coffin, left in command of the guard and boats, took the smallest with two men and went ashore for fruit. On shore they pushed their enquiries some hundred rods above the place of landing; at the farthest point they discovered several canoes, filled with Indians, pulling down the bay, covered by Bull's island from the residue of the guard with the boats. Coffin turned into the woods and, under their cover, hastened back to his boat. In this they pulled for their unconscious companions. The knapsacks and blankets of the party were thrown into the two lightest boats, each manned with four men, the corporal heroically taking the lightest. They made emulous efforts to place the greatest possible quantity of fresh water between themselves and the Indians. They were so far when the Indians came round the island and

discovered them that they made no effort to capture them. The two remaining boats left afloat, the Indians saw and scuttled them near the shore. This doubtless put them on Cotton's trail, and they ambushed his way. Coffin and his guard pulled for Cedar Point directly, and arrived there safely, where we leave them for the time.

The thirty men, on the deserted, boatless shore, having with them six wounded companions, all the wounded, seem to have lost heart. They had little difficulty in the shoal water in securing the sunken boats. The Indians had done the work of destruction so effectively that they were unable to repair either of them. Notwithstanding their plucky conduct in presence of the enemy, they seem now to have entertained a very wholesome fear of them, and a part of them hurried down the bay to get as far from the Indians as possible, hoping for means providential to pass them to Cedar Point. The residue for a time lingered about and followed later. The firing in the two affairs was distinctly heard by Corporal Coffin and his seven men at Cedar Point, who finally passed across the bay as near the opposite shore as they deemed prudent, and were rejoiced finally by the sight of the shore party, struggling, bleeding, limping and pushing down the northern coast of the bay, all of whom were passed by means of their boats to Cedar Point, long ere nightfall of this, for them, eventful, exhausting day.

Ere the night came the wounded were divided between the two boats, which were manned and pushed down the lake for the mouth of the Huron and Camp Avery, under the command of Sergeant Rice. Of this party was young Giddings. The residue of the party took up their line of march from Cedar Point for Camp Avery through the woods direct, leaving the beleagured Captain Cotton and his twenty men, on the north side of the bay, to fare as they might.

Rice, with the boats, reached Sprague's landing, a mile from the lake, about two o'clock the morning of the thirtieth. There were one or two deserted cabins at the landing, which he took possession of, and, having cared for the wounded, Rice, young Giddings and one or two more pushed off through the night and woods for Camp Avery, to organize a recruiting party for their abandoned commander. They met with many adventures peculiar to the forest and night, and reached Camp Avery at daylight.

Lieutenant Allen, of Giddings' company, finally got off with thirty men, but had great difficulty in procuring boats. Using his utmost expedition, he did not reach Cotton until the next morning, October 1. He found the

party safe and no enemy near, patiently waiting means of transportation across the bay, which he knew would ere long reach him.

Finding him beyond their means of assault, the enemy seems to have retired early, and probably returned at once to Frenchtown, then Proctor's advanced post.

Upon being relieved, Cotton and Allen proceeded to examine the scene of this second affray, where were found the bodies of two dead Americans, scalped and mutilated. In the breast of one, plunged to the hilt, was the scalping knife of the Chief Omic, silver mounted, and his name engraved upon a plate on the handle, left there in bravado, probably, to verify his presence and prowess.

When the Giddings family moved into the woods of the Reserve, in 1806, they found Omic, with a band of Massasaugas, as I have always supposed, in a village on the Pymatuning creek. Joshua R. knew him well, as did others of the expeditionary party.*

Another soldier was also killed in this fight. A friend saw him fall, took his body and carried it into the building, where it was subsequently buried by Captain Cotton below the floor, a portion of which was removed and replaced for the purpose, before the arrival of Allen. Of the other two, one was a farmer on the Huron. Camp Avery occupied a portion of his land. He came in on the evening the party started, and volunteered to accompany it. He was a brave man. When mortally wounded, shot through the lungs, he refused to be carried back, asked to be placed against the foot of a tree, with his loaded musket, facing the advancing enemy. Very soon his retreating friends heard his musket, followed by several discharges almost simultaneously from the enemy. His body was found perforated with bullets, and the supposition was that he shot at the Indians as they came up, and received their shots in return. These two were interred outside, and the party reached Camp Avery that night.

It lost of its original number sixty-four who were under fire, six killed and six wounded. Others were slightly injured as was said. The number of casualties of the enemy was, of course, never known, nor any approximate estimate of the number engaged. The final misfortune of the party seems to have been due to the unnecessary retreat from the open to the log house, faultily executed as it was.

The united party beat the same Indians off in the first affair in the

* No trace of the chief after this affair remains. I have thought he may have been killed, or died of wounds received in this battle. He was a man of mark among the natives.

woods, from which Cotton was in haste to get away, and most clearly there was no necessity for the second retreat, and that, too, just as the left flanking party came up. Apparently this retreat had a very demoralizing effect on the thirty, who at first refused to leave the field, and who, when they retired, seemed not to dare enter the house for fear of capture or massacre by a force they had beaten in the woods and driven from their first position in this second battle. Mr. Giddings says that when they passed the house, in which Cotton was safe with but twenty men, had the Indians seen them they would doubtless have pursued and massacred them all. If frightened, as I fear they then were, this is possible. Though Cotton would doubtless have gone to their rescue, Rice was with them, and I have no doubt, had they retained their coolness, they could have defended themselves anywhere out of an ambush. Although the enemy at once retired from Cotton's little fort, they seem not to have seen any of these thirty men, who broke up their slight organization and straggled about four or five hours before their final escape, for such it was.

It was the impression of the men of the expeditionary force, as of the officers at Camp Avery, that there were two parties, or two parts of one body, of Indians in the neighborhood; that the men seen by Coffin and his guard were not the same Indians who fought the Americans on the peninsula. There seems no warrant for this, nor could the Indians under fire have been more numerous than the Americans when united.* They were probably on their way up the lake when they discovered Cotton's boats. They were very roughly handled. They retreated from the first engagement, and would have been compelled to retreat from the second had not Cotton ordered—what must appear from all the light we have—a very untimely and unnecessary retreat from them.† This battle—these two very spirited affairs, skirmishes—was, a great many years ago, a matter of much comment, and generally and most deservedly the actors on our side in them were supposed to have acquitted themselves with great credit, as assuredly they did, when their quality and experience as soldiers and the quality and conduct of their commander are considered. He seems to have had clear ideas of a progress in the enemy's presence, but it seems to me that his prudence under fire was ill-timed, and he was in too much haste to get out of it.

* I believe there is not an instance in the history of the Indian wars on this continent where an equal number of Indian warriors were ever defeated by an equal number of whites, whether regulars or militia. In our victories we had the larger party and lost the most men, as a rule.

† I do not know anything of Captain Cotton's character and after history.

It is a curious comment upon what must then have been thought of the numbers of the enemy by those in command at Camp Avery, that a lieutenant and thirty men were deemed a sufficient force to relieve Captain Cotton and bring him away.

It should be added that, not long after these affairs on the peninsula, orders were received from General Harrison to march the regiment back to Cleveland and disband it, with the thanks of the commander-in-chief. The regiment was no longer needed for service that autumn, and was as a regiment never again in the field.

A. G. RIDDLE.

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE BUCKEYE CAPITAL.

The act creating the State of Ohio and approving its constitution, adopted by the convention of November, 1802, was passed by Congress March 3, 1803. This act designated Chillicothe as the temporary seat of government until such time as the people of the State would elect to establish a permanent capital. A stone State house had been built in Chillicothe in 1801 for the use of the Territorial legislature, which was probably the first stone house of any consequence erected in this part of the west. But one session of this legislature was held in this capitol. The constitutional convention, in the fall of 1802, absorbed the legislature, which did not meet that winter. The next year the State legislature occupied the house, and continued to do so till the fall of 1810, when Zanesville claimed it, having, in its efforts to secure the permanent State capital, erected a building and made many other substantial evidences of its desire to secure the prize. During the next session, the permanent capital was located elsewhere, and the temporary seat of government went back again to Chillicothe, where it remained till the fall of 1816.

Attempts to secure the permanent seat of government began to be made by various towns before Zanesville took decisive steps. The demand culminated in an act, passed February 10, 1810, nominating five commissioners to select a site. Immediately Franklinton, Delaware, Worthington, Chillicothe, Zanesville, Newark, Lancaster, and a number of other places, began to press their claims. Of these Chillicothe could offer a

central location, a State house ready for use, the prestige of age and priority of choice. Zanesville could offer the first two inducements, and emphasize its demands by an earnest desire and a readiness on the part of its people to comply with almost any request that might be made. Franklinton could offer a growing town and a central locality. Worthington was almost the exact centre of the State. The commissioners met at Franklinton in the spring of 1810, and, after an examination of its location, decided against it. From this place they went to other points, giving the claims of each careful consideration. They finally decided on a tract of upland on the west bank of the Scioto, a few miles above Worthington, owned by John and Peter Sells. It was the centre of the State, and on this account received the votes of the commissioners. The town of Dublin now occupies the site. This location they recommended in their report, dated at Newark, September 12, and which they presented to the general assembly at Zanesville during the next session. No definite action was taken regarding this report, and applicants again appeared before the legislature. Various offers were made, amended and again made, Worthington and the owners of the selected site being the most unfortunate.

While the various proposals were before the legislature, Lyne Starling, John Kerr, Alexander McLaughlin and James Johnston, residents of Franklinton and owners of the land on the east side of the Scioto river, formed a plan of operations and, uniting their interests, came before the legislature with a proposition worthy its consideration. They were at once met by counter proposals from others, but such was their offer that the contest soon narrowed down to the consideration of two propositions—the one made by these associates and that offered by Colonel Kilbourne of Worthington.

As evidence that "wire pulling" was not then unknown, the following is related: One of the prime movers in the site afterwards chosen, found, on his arrival at the opening of the legislative session, that Colonel James Kilbourne was actively at work in favor of his town—Worthington. He had a majority of *one* pledged in his favor, and, as his town was almost the exact centre of the State and his donations liberal, he was likely to succeed. The evening before the day for voting came, and but little prospect of change was apparent. A convenient pack of cards, bottles of choice wine and a safe retreat, so enticed two of Colonel Kilbourne's supporters

that, when the vote was cast, they could not be found and the colonel lost his point by a majority of *one* against him.

Of the four men comprising this company, Mr. Starling became the best known in after life. He was born in Mecklenburg county, Virginia, December 27, 1784. Ten years after, his father came to Mercer county, Kentucky, where the son remained until late in the year 1806. He was placed, when young, in the county clerk's office, where he became quite proficient in its duties, and from which he was called to Franklinton by Mr. Lucas Sullivan, his brother-in-law, who held the office in Franklin county. Mr. Starling was subsequently appointed to the office, which he held many years. Afterwards, through Mr. Sullivan's influence and financial help, he became a successful merchant and trader. About 1809 he purchased, as he states in a letter to his sister, "an elegant seat and tract of land opposite town, on the other side of the river, which I have an idea of improving." The next year he wrote: "We have strong expectations of getting the seat of government here after the sitting of the next legislature."

In September, 1812, he writes that the capital is a fixed fact, alluding to what he and his associates had done. He also adds: "Nothing here but the sound of war," and further, jokingly comments on his matrimonial intentions. His early letters do not refer in a flattering manner to the young ladies of Franklinton. He considers them *proud*, and says: "They do not invite me to dances, parties or other social gatherings." In truth, he was always a little averse to such things, did not marry, and was never a society man. He lived, in the enjoyment of his industry, to see the village he and his colleagues founded grow to a populous and thriving city. He was a warm-hearted, eccentric, honored and useful citizen, and to-day Starling Medical college, founded through his munificence, perpetuates his name. He died in his lodgings at the American hotel, November 21, 1848. His portrait, the frontispiece of this Magazine, is from an oil painting now in the possession of his relative, Mrs. Jane McDowell Smith, of Hillsboro, Ohio. Mr. Starling was the only one of the proprietors who lived to enjoy his labors. Except Mr. Kerr, the others lost almost all their property by the depression in real estate, and died poor.

Mr. Starling and his associates wisely concluded it would pay to try for the *capital* prize of the day. The plateau owned by them was situated in the Refugee lands, and had been granted as early as 1802, by patents, to John Halstead, Martha Walker, Benjamin Thompson, Seth Harding and

James Price, refugees, who had, however, sold their patents, and, after passing through various hands, they were now in possession of the members of the company.

Combining their interests, these men offered a town site of nearly twelve hundred acres, in which the State, through its agent, could select two squares of ten acres each, on one of which they would erect a State house and other necessary public buildings, and on the other a penitentiary and its appendages. These buildings should cost not less than fifty thousand dollars. If more than that amount was expended the State should reimburse them for the additional outlay. They also agreed to have the penitentiary ready by January, 1815, and the State house by the first Monday of December, 1817. These buildings were to be erected under the care of an agent selected by the State, who should be responsible to the Legislature for his acts. February 14 the offer of the associates was accepted by an act of the legislature, locating the capital of Ohio, if not permanently, at least until May, 1840.* February 20, at the suggestion of General Joseph Foss, long a member of the legislature from Franklin county, the Buckeye capital was named Columbus.

February 19, at Zanesville, the proprietors acknowledged their articles of association as partners. A common stock was created for the benefit of the firm, who should receive all donations as a firm. Of the donations by each, Mr. Starling gave all of half-section twenty-five, save ten acres he had sold to John Brickell; Mr. Johnson, all of half-section nine, and half of half-section ten; and McLaughlin and Kerr—as partners—half-section twenty-six. To these were added eighty acres, given by Rev. James Hoge, off the south end of half-section eleven, and twenty acres given by Thomas Allen out of the southwest part of half-section ten. These received back half their donations in city lots, and were, as the sequel proved, well paid.

McLaughlin and Kerr's donation occupied the southern part of the town plat, extending north nearly to what is now State street. Mr. Starling's donation came next, and extended north to about the present Spring street, while north of this were the donations of Mr. Johnston, Rev. Hoge and Mr. Allen.

In the spring of 1812, the agent of the State, Joel Wright of Warren

*The clause in this act, accepting the purchases of the associates, stipulated that the "sessions of the legislature shall commence December 17, 1817, and there continue till the first day of May, 1840, and from thence until otherwise provided by law."

county, and his assistant, Joseph Vance of Franklin, caused the town to be laid out at the expense of the proprietors. The principal street, running north and south, was made one hundred feet wide and named High street; the principal one running east and west, Broad, was made one hundred and twenty feet wide. All other streets, eighty-two and a half feet wide. Streets running north and south were made twelve degrees west of north, and those running east and west twelve degrees north of east. In-lots were surveyed sixty-two and one-half feet front by one hundred and eighty-seven and a half deep, while the out-lots, east of Fourth street, contained about three acres each. Soon after the town was platted, the proprietors laid out some forty out-lots north of the town, containing about two acres each, from which they conveyed to the town a burying-ground containing one and a half acres. Afterwards it was known as the "North graveyard."

The town was now laid out and ready for settlers. From one of the papers of that day the following advertisement is copied:

FOR SALE.

On the premises, commencing on Thursday, the eighteenth day of June next, and to continue for three days, in and out-lots in the town of Columbus, established by an act of the legislature as the permanent seat of government for the State of Ohio.

Then followed the terms of sale—one-fifth in cash, balance in four equal annual installments; interest chargeable if not paid at maturity; eight per cent. to be deducted for cash payments in full. After this came a glowing description of the site selected for the capital, special stress being put on its excellent location as a shipping point. When the reader of to-day recollects that these "excellent facilities" consisted of the Scioto river alone, on which flatboats could be launched for New Orleans, he will hardly suppress a smile. Did the proprietors dream of the many outlets now diverging from the capital, like the spokes from the hub of a wheel?

Boston may be the "Hub of the Universe." Columbus is certainly in one point the "Hub of Ohio." The advertisement states that "above the town the west branch of the Scioto affords good navigation for about eighty miles, and the Whetstone branch as far as the town of Worthington. Sandusky bay, the only harbor on the south shore of Lake Erie (except Presque Isle) for vessels of burthen, is situate due north from Columbus and about one hundred miles from it. An excellent road may be made with very little expense from the Lower Sandusky town to the mouth of the Little Scioto, a distance of about sixty miles. This will

render the communication from the lakes to the Ohio river, through the Scioto, very easy, by which route an immense trade must, at a day not very distant, be carried on, which will make the country on the Scioto river rich and populous."

The attractive and somewhat overdrawn picture expressed in the advertisement had good effect. Buyers in plenty were on the ground, ready to select the best sites, knowing that time alone would make their purchases valuable.

Perhaps a retrospective view of the site of Ohio's capital may not be amiss. Had a pioneer ascended the Scioto in his canoe from the old capital—Chillicothe—to the site of the new, a scene of great natural beauty would have appeared before him. On his left hand was a broad plain, bounded on the west by a low range of wooded hills, now in part a waving cornfield, in part a grassy meadow. Along the water's edge grew many wild plum trees, whose blossoms filled the air with a pleasant perfume. Beyond the meadow and the corn the busy town of Franklinton appeared in the distance, guarded on the east and north by the river, whose thread of water was lost in the forest above. On the right bank of the river rose a sharply inclined bluff, covered by a sturdy growth of native forest timber. The abruptness of this bluff gradually declined as the voyager ascended the stream. As he came up the river he would have seen, south of the Indian mound—from which Mound street took its name—a small, cleared field, in which was the pioneer home of John McGowan, who then cultivated a farm which he afterwards—in 1814—laid out as McGowan's addition to Columbus. On the incline of the bluff, not far from the present crossing of Front and State streets, stood a round log cabin, surrounded by a small clearing and occupied by a man named Deardurf and his family. He was probably a squatter on the Refugee lands, and was secure in his home as long as the rightful owner did not claim possession. His small garden, his rifle and his traps furnished him an abundant frontier living, and if he could live free from many of the comforts of civilized life, he was also free from many of its cares. Farther north, and not far from the site of Hayden's rolling mills, on the banks of a small stream, were the ruins of an old saw mill, built about 1800, by Robert Balentine, a citizen of Franklinton. Near it were also the ruins of a distillery, built by Benjamin White about the same time. They were now in decay and almost covered by small trees and underbrush. Near the site of the present penitentiary stood the cabin of John Brickell, who

for many years had been a captive among the Indians. He now had a clearing made in the ten acres sold to him by Mr. Starling. Just above his cabin was the old Indian camp-ground he had seen when an unwilling member of one of their tribes, and where, for many years before, Indian feasts had been held, councils of the tribes deliberated, and horrible barbarities inflicted on unfortunate captives. Mr. Brickell and his family lived in measured security now, and the man, who though now a freeman, could not, and did not entirely, forego Indian customs. He always wore deer skin moccasins and a skin cap with the tail of the animal dangling down his back. Indians were still plenty, and, owing to the evil influences of the British, troublesome. A feeling of insecurity prevailed, happily dispelled by a council held with Indians by General Harrison a few years after.

Had the canoeist moored his birch bark vessel and ascended the bluff, he would have found himself in a forest of oak, beech, maple walnut and other trees common to the uplands of Ohio. Their full leaved tops were now the home of the wild songsters of the western woods, who filled the air with their melodies as they flitted hither and thither among the branches. Squirrels gamboled up and down their massive trunks, or from their dizzy heights stopped to gaze at the intruder. Wild turkeys were plenty, deers not strange, and a still more formidable, but not less valuable game, bears, not uncommon. About the great trunks of the trees huge grape vines were here and there entwined, whose abundant blossoms promised a rich repast in the autumn. Smaller fruits, such as hawberries, huckleberries, wild plums and wild blackberries, were everywhere. The Ohio forest was here in all its native grandeur and native beauty. The full leaved tree-tops and the leaves of the rambling grapevines almost hid the sun in the heavens. Trees of American growth were scattered here and there through this forest; the dog-wood, wild plum and hawberry, with luxuriant blossoms, mingled their odors with those of the wild flowers all about him, filling the air with a rich fragrance. Nature was here in all her native supremacy, and had the traveler known of the purpose for which this plateau was destined, he perhaps might have wondered if the busy life of a city would replace the life of the forest about him. Had he noticed the topography of the city's home, he would have seen a gradual incline from the north towards its centre, a more decided one from the west, and a level land towards the south; eastward the plateau, slightly declined, while northward was a "prairie," as it was afterwards

called, in which he would have found many springs, whose outlet was a small stream, which found its way westward to the river he had left.

Excepting the cabins already mentioned, not a human habitation occupied the site of the future city. Where is now the "busy haunts of man" was a western forest, whose life consisted only in that of bird and beast, whose home it had been for ages past.

Had the canoeist returned to his canoe and paddled up the stream, he would have passed, on his right hand, the outlet of the Olentangy, and then, turning a little to the west, he would have found himself at the village, Franklinton, a thriving frontier town. Its generous hospitality was soon to be taxed to the utmost. Strangers were gathering from far and near to attend the sale of lots in the future capital of Ohio. Those who came from the south followed the river or the Lancaster road, crossing by the ferry or ford below town. Those who came from the north crossed the Scioto not far from Mr. Brickell's cabin, where, in low water, was a ford, and in high water, a ferry.

The day of sale, June 18, is not only a notable one in the history of the city, but in that of the country as well. America, tired of the continual aggressions of Britain, had this day declared war against that nation. The band of purchasers, gathered from all parts of Ohio, in the forest on this summer day, did not know what a momentous crisis was arising. No telegraph conveyed the news, else the sales might have been different. It was several weeks before they could know what had been done in the capital of the nation, by which time they were at their own homes speculating on the future of the capital of Ohio. Purchasers from a distance were entertained in the tavern in Franklinton, and came through the fields to the river, which they crossed in skiffs or in the ferry, and, ascending the bluffs, gathered about the place of the sale.

History does not preserve the name of the first purchaser nor record the price he paid for his choice. Really there could hardly be a "first choice." The plat of this city was liberal in size, and about any central point a number of first choice lots could be bought. Whosoever bid was successful, paid upwards of one thousand dollars for his lot. The best lots brought that figure, the poorest not less than two hundred dollars. An excellent beginning was made, and the proprietors congratulated themselves that their venture promised such rich returns. John Kerr acted as agent for the company and took charge of all proceeds. The auction continued from day to day till enough sales were made to fully

justify the proprietors to begin the work of erecting the public buildings, for which they began preparations, engaging help before all had left the sale. Among the purchasers of lots at this sale, and who became settlers, were Jacob Hare, Peter Putnam, George McCormick, George B. Harvey, John Shields, Michael and Alexander Patton, William Altman, John Collett, Wm. McElvaine, Daniel Kooser, Christian Heyl, Jarvis, Benjamin and George Pike, Wm. Long, Townsend Nichols and Dr. John M. Edmiston.

The establishment of the permanent capital insured remunerative employment to pioneers and emigrants, to whom money was indeed a blessing. Not only could the associates employ many men on the State buildings, but purchasers could also employ many more. The native forest trees were to be felled, cut into convenient lengths for handling and rolled together, piled high with brush and limbs and set on fire. Giant oaks, huge hickories, valuable walnuts, and other native trees, in time, fell. Necessity, then as now, knew no law. Before the snows of winter came, the primitive forest was sadly spoiled of its native beauty. The hand of progress had come, and only the end of time would stay its march. Cabins for homes, for "houses of entertainment," for stores, for shops, and for various uses, were scattered here and there through the forest, ready to be occupied when the opening spring-time would release the earth from the grasp of winter. A few settlers, more courageous than their fellows, began life here that same autumn, as soon as they could prepare their homes, but the majority, having made ready, returned to their homes to bring their families the ensuing spring. Nearly all buildings were made of logs, some, more pretentious than others, were of frame and log, while preparations to erect even brick structures were begun.

The spring of 1813 brought a number of settlers. Every cabin was full. Franklinton was doing a thriving business, not only in entertaining newcomers, but in caring for an army gathering for the war to the north. The principal sales were made on High street west of Capital square, and on streets crossing it, chiefly on Broad, State, Town and Rich. A number of lots on Front street were sold for residence purposes. That was expected to be the principal street for residences, while High street and those near it would be business streets. In the square north of the present Neil House, and a little distance back from the streets, the Worthington manufacturing company erected a small brick building, in which they placed an assortment of drygoods, groceries and hardware, placing Joel

Buttles in charge. A few years afterwards he purchased lots on the west side of High street, north of Town street, where is now the United States hotel, and buildings north of it. On the lot now occupied by the Rubber company's store he built a store-room for himself, and a residence in the rear, and here he lived and here he carried on business many years.

In the spring of 1813 Matthew Matthews was appointed postmaster. Soon after he entered Mr. Buttles' store, and the next year the office was given to Mr. Buttles, who brought it with him to his own store. Here it was kept in a small desk, from which once or twice a week the people of Columbus obtained their mail, which came to them by way of Lancaster. The emoluments of the office then were light, and only one situated similar to Mr. Buttles cared for its duties. Mr. Buttles' efficiency is attested by the fact that he remained postmaster fifteen years. His official life not only saw the place as a village; it beheld it preparing to assume the dignity of a city.

This same summer of 1813 McLene & Green started a store in a small log cabin, which stood on the south side of Rich street. Just west of this store stood three cabins, joined together, in one of which Christian Heyl opened a bakery, and where he continued in business six years. At the end of that time he erected a good brick building, in which he opened a tavern, known as the "Franklin House," and where he remained till 1841.

The same year (1813) John Collett erected the first tavern in Columbus—a brick house—which was opened to the traveler by Volney Payne. Another house of entertainment was opened on Front street, south of State street. One was opened by Mr. McCollum on Front street, north of Broad, where was afterwards the "Erin-go-bragh" tavern. Houses of entertainment then, as they sometimes do now, furnished both food and *drink*, and were simply dram shops and lodging places. One of these houses of entertainment, the "War Office," kept by William Day, stood on the northeast corner of Rich and High street. Its numerous brawls were generally summarily settled in 'Squire Shield's court near by. The eccentric Irishman would admit of no appeal from his off-hand decisions, generally given as suited himself, regardless of the law in the statutes. In 1814 the "Columbus Inn" was opened by David Broderick, in a frame building on the southeast corner of Town and High streets. It was afterwards kept by James B. Gardner with the sign of the Rose Tree, and underneath was the scriptural quotation: "The wilderness shall bloom as

the rose." The tavern became well known as the Franklin House and finally as the City House.

In 1813 John Shields and Richard Courtney built a saw-mill on the banks of the Scioto, a short distance south of John Brickell's cabin, and began furnishing sawn timbers and boards to the builders of Columbus. Three years after Mr. Shields built a flouring-mill on a small creek in the southwest part of the town, and its inhabitants ceased patronizing Colonel Kilbourne's mill at Worthington, or the mills farther to the south on the river.

The year 1813 saw a substantial increase in population, in dwellings, stores, shops of various kinds, and some advance on the public buildings. That winter a school was opened in a cabin standing on the public square, and here, for the first time in the history of the capital, its children received instruction—chiefly in "reading, writing and 'rithmetic." The school, like all others of that period, was supported by subscription. Before the next winter came, a hewed log house was finished for the use of the Methodist class, organized that summer, and during the winter a school, made much larger by emigrants, was held therein. In this building David Martin taught school during the winter of 1815-16. As the town grew, other accommodations became necessary, which were furnished as needed. The pioneer—subscription—schools of the capital knew such teachers as Joseph Olds, Samuel Bigger, Rudolph Dickenson and others, who afterwards became prominent in national affairs.

The first disciple of Esculapius, Dr. John M. Edmiston, came to Columbus about this time, and began to practice the healing art. He was soon after joined by Dr. Samuel Parsons, practicing medicine in Franklinton. Not long after Dr. L. Goodale located here, where his life was passed. A beautiful park, his gift to the city, perpetuates his name.

During the summer and winter of 1813, the residents of Columbus, who cared to attend divine service, went to Franklinton, where they listened to the ministrations of Rev. James Hoge, the pioneer clergyman of this part of the Scioto valley. He had been sent by the general assembly in 1805 to Franklinton, where he was instrumental in gathering a Presbyterian congregation, who at this time were worshiping in a commodious brick building. Rev. Hoge was a land owner in Columbus, and, in the spring of 1814, gave a lot near the corner of Spring and Third streets, on which was erected a comfortable log church, about twenty-five by thirty feet in size. Services were held here and in Franklinton until 1818, when a frame

church, known as the "Three Sisters" and "Trinity in Unity," was built on the west side of Front street, south of Town, in which Dr. Hoge preached till 1830, when the growth of the congregation and enlargement of the city demanded another change. This time a substantial brick church was erected on the southwest corner of State and Third streets, which, though now much improved, is occupied by the First Presbyterian church. The fruits of Dr. Hoge's fifty years of labor in the city are four large congregations of his own denomination, not mentioning missions nor other churches, such as the Congregationalists, whose beginnings may be traced to the Presbyterians. Dr. Hoge's early labors were cotemporaneous with those earnest frontier ministers—Methodist circuit riders—one of whom, Rev. Samuel West, a member of the Delaware circuit, organized a class in Franklinton, December 20, 1813. About the same time he also organized one of four members in Columbus. The next spring the proprietors of Columbus donated the society a lot on Town street, on which a hewed log church was built, and which was "chinked, daubed and underpinned" by George McCormick and John Cutler, in the fall, to prepare it for use during the winter. From that small class of four members have grown several large and influential churches, whose work is felt in all parts of the city.

Among the early pioneers of Ohio is one whose name stands out in bold relief on the pages of religious and educational history. Rev. Philander Chase is known from Pittsburgh to St. Louis. Hardly a county between those cities has not, in its early days, heard the voice of this veteran minister, who visited Columbus early in 1817. On his second visit, May 5, he organized a parish consisting of thirty members, the origin of the present Trinity church. January 5, 1818, two clergymen—Revs. Chase and Roger Searle, both pioneers of this denomination in Ohio, and both of whom came in 1817—with nine lay delegates met in the house of Dr. Goodale in Columbus, and held the first convention in Ohio of this denomination.* Other denominations appeared in due time, but these congregations, with one Baptist and one Catholic church, chiefly occupied the field several years. In after years others came, till now almost every denomination has its representatives here.

People "are given in marriage" on the frontier as well as in older settlements. Love laughs at locks, knows no metes and bounds, and flourishes in the cabin of the pioneer as well as in the mansion of the oldest

* See December number of this Magazine, pages 148-152 inclusive, for a full report of this meeting.

inhabitant. Early in February, 1814, George B. Harvey and Miss Jane Armstrong celebrated the first marriage in the Buckeye capital. Soon after, their example was followed by Joseph Dills and Miss Polly Collett. These weddings, celebrated in humble homes, were attended by little ceremony, save a dance, perchance, or a "house warming" in the cabin homes prepared by the grooms. These weddings were usually attended by all the friends of both contracting parties, dressed in linsey-woolsey and other home-made durable garments, and in which they danced with considerable vigor and a great variety of steps to the energetic fiddling of such lively tunes as "Hie-Betty-Martin," "Rory-o'-More," and others, whose names have passed away with the dances they led.

American towns never prosper without that necessary adjunct, the printing press. That ubiquitous individual, the editor, is always in the advance guard of civilization. In 1812 he did not have the telegraph, the telephone, nor even the "lightening express." He could only rely on an overland coach, and on news "nine days old." Still his versatile mind could clothe these facts in words "fresh from his own mind," and, if the overland mail failed to come in time, he could do as many of his successors do to-day, be sure to have his column of news "fresh from Washington." Colonel Kilbourne, in 1811, began the publication of the *Western Intelligencer*, of which he issued two numbers, and then sold the paper to Buttles & Smith, who owned it about one year, when they sold it to the firm of P. H. Olmsted, Ezra Griswold and Dr. Hills, Jr. In July, 1814, Joel Buttles purchased Dr. Hills' interest, and the paper was brought from Worthington to Columbus, where its publication was continued. The title was changed by adding "*and Columbus Gazette*." Not long after Mr. Olmsted became sole owner, and shortened the name by leaving off the original name. *The Columbus Gazette* continued under his control until 1825. That winter the office of public printer was created by the general assembly, and George Nashee was appointed. A company consisting of Mr. Nashee, Mr. Olmstead and John Bailhache, took control of the *Gazette*, and again the title was increased by the addition of "*Ohio State Journal*." After various changes both in owners and in name, the last addition was fixed in 1838 as the permanent name.

Monday evening, December 3, 1839, the *Daily Journal* appeared with the following announcement: "Published by Charles Scott, at his old stand on State street, opposite the market house." The paper continued as an evening daily until November 19, 1858, when it appeared in the

morning. It was then owned by Mr. Henry D. Cooke—a brother of the famous financier, J. Cooke, Esq.—and Mr. Henry Miller. The paper, being the only morning daily in Central Ohio, rapidly rose in influence and circulation. Various other changes in ownership occurred, but the paper went steadily forward. To-day the *Ohio State Journal*, one of the largest and most influential morning dailies in Central Ohio, lives to perpetuate the efforts of those pioneers of 1814.

The next year after Colonel Kilbourne started the *Western Intelligencer*, the *Freeman's Chronicle* appeared in Franklinton, under the care of James B. Gardner. It lived but two years, when the office material was purchased by John Kilbourne, who brought them to Columbus, and, in 1816, began the publication of the *Columbia Gazette*. But two numbers appeared.

He next published the 'Ohio Gazetteer,' a small but comprehensive work on the infant State. It was much sought after by persons desiring information on Ohio, and enjoyed the remarkable sale of ten large editions.

In 1816 the *Ohio Monitor* appeared under control of David Smith and Ezra Griswold, Jr. It was published as such twenty years, when it was merged into the *Hemisphere*, started in 1832. Two years after the name of this paper was changed to the *Ohio Statesman*, published as a weekly until 1847, when it appeared as a daily. It continued many years to exert considerable influence. From 1853 to 1855 Hon. S. S. Cox was its editor and proprietor. It was issued as a morning daily till April 1, 1872, when it became an evening paper, and in July an announcement appeared signed "Statesman Company, by J. F. Linton, manager," stating that the daily *Ohio Statesman* had been merged into the *Daily Dispatch*. The weekly continued. The *Daily Statesman* was revived in 1876, and, some three years after, its title was changed to the *Daily Times*, which is still issued—now a morning paper. The limits of this paper do not admit of an exhaustive resume of this subject. It would be exceedingly interesting, in more ways than one, to many people, were journalism in the capitol city of Ohio fully written. Suffice it to say, Columbus has enjoyed her full share of journalistic vicissitudes, and now supports its full quota of newspapers.

People must be fed as well as educated. One is an *absolute* necessity; the other can be omitted. One of the first houses built in town was a market house, erected in the middle of High street, just south of Rich street. The growth of the town soon demanded that a larger and better one be erected, and, after considerable strife for the "prize" by residents

of different localities—even Broad street contending for it and offering as a strong reason the broadness of the street—the structure was located on State street, just west of High. It was built by John Shields, the lower part open and built of brick, the upper of frame, closed, and containing two rooms. In one of these a printing office was operated; the other was used at first for a public hall and place of worship on the Sabbath, from which it degenerated to a gaming resort, and in which was placed the first billiard table seen in Columbus. This market house stood till 1830, when it was replaced by a longer and wider one-story building, which answered all public market purposes until the erection of the present Fourth street market house.

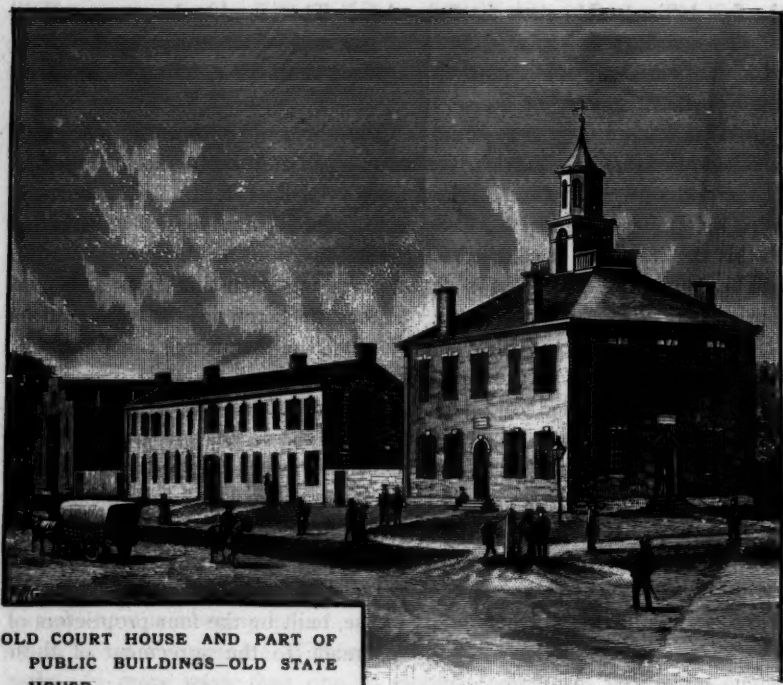
In 1815 lawyers began to come to Columbus, and soon the "shingles" of David Smith, Orris Parrish, Gustavus Swan and David Scott appeared at the doors of their offices. Soon after John R. Parrish, T. C. Flournoy, William Doherty, James K. Cory and others followed, and from that day to this the town has not lacked for the followers of Blackstone.

The growth of Columbus in three years was such that its citizens concluded it was time to incorporate. A census taken in 1815 gave seven hundred inhabitants, and February 10, 1816, the "Borough of Columbus" was incorporated. On the first Monday of May following a board of councilmen was elected, and Jarvis Pike was chosen mayor and president of the council. February 23 of this year the legislature chartered the Franklin bank, which opened for business the next autumn, and which continued till the expiration of its charter in 1843. Lucas Sullivant was its first president and one of its largest shareholders.

The same legislature that incorporated the borough ordered the removal of the State offices from Chillicothe to Columbus, and the session of 1816-17 was held in the new State house, built by the four proprietors of the town. Reference has already been made to the agreement of these men.

The excavation for the foundation of the State house was begun in 1813, and the building finished the next year. It was built in the southwest corner of the public square, having entrances on State and High street. It stood about twenty feet from the sidewalks, was built of stone and brick, two stories high, with a square roof ascending to a central balcony, from which rose a spire, whose top was one hundred and six feet above the ground. In this spire was a good bell, whose resonant ringing in the winter called the general assembly to business. About two sides of

the balcony was a railed walk, from which was seen an extensive view of the capital and its surroundings. The building contained the halls of the senate and house, and their necessary committee rooms. It was heated by great wood fires in large fire-places, whose ornamental brass andirons reflected their cheerfulness and warmth. The old State house was used until Sabbath morning, February 1, 1852, when it was leveled to the



OLD COURT HOUSE AND PART OF
PUBLIC BUILDINGS—OLD STATE
HOUSE.

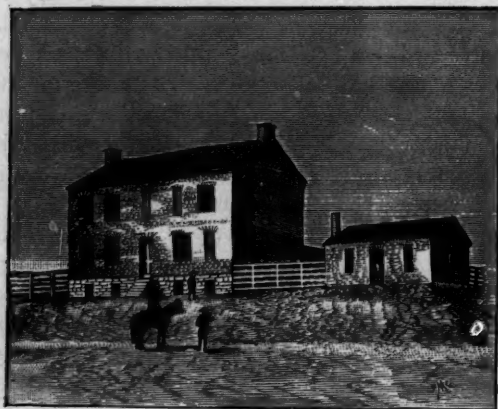
ground by fire. Just west of it was erected a two story brick building, twenty-five by one hundred and fifty feet in size, fronting on High street, which contained the State offices. It is well shown in the accompanying cut, which also shows the State house and the United States court house, erected in 1820. These two buildings, as well as one erected in 1828-29, for the use of the county officers, stood till 1857, when all buildings on

the public square were moved, preparatory to its grading and ornamentation.

The penitentiary site of ten acres was selected in the southwest part of town. On this donation the prison buildings were begun in 1813, and completed in two years. The penitentiary was sixty by thirty feet in size, three stories high, built of brick, fronting on Scioto lane. The basement contained kitchen, dining-room and cellar, and could be entered only from the yard. The next, or first story, was the keeper's residence, entered by high steps from the yard. The third story contained four dark and nine light cells for prisoners, and was entered only from the yard. The entire building was enclosed by a stone wall about eighteen feet high, which also enclosed a yard about one hundred feet square. This penitentiary continued in use till 1818, when a new building was erected and the yard enlarged to one hundred and sixty feet north and south, and nearly four hundred east and west. This extended the yard to the foot of the hill, near where the canal was afterwards built. Three terraces were made here, owing to the rapid descent of the hill. The outer walls enclosing the yard were twenty feet high, three feet thick and surmounted with a plank floor, and hand rail on the inner edge. Two inner walls were built at the lower part of the terraces, each in height the same as the terrace above it. This gave three yards as it were. The cooper and blacksmith shops were in the middle yard, the workshops in the upper yard, along its south side. The prison building was of brick, one hundred and fifty feet long, and thirty-four feet wide. It was two stories high, with the east end to the street. The first floor contained the dining rooms and kitchen, and fifty-four cells, underneath which were five solitary, dark cells, entered only by a trap-door in the hall. The second story was devoted to hospital uses, and such other purposes as were required. The cells in the old building were removed, and it was made the keeper's residence. James Kookan, of Franklinton, was appointed to that office in 1815. He choose Colonel Griffith Thomas clerk. Mr. Kookan was reappointed in January, 1819, and Colonel Thomas made agent, a new office created that year by the legislature.

In the early part of Mr. Kookan's administration but little employment was furnished the prisoners. They were allowed to play ball in the yard, near the west end of the north wing of the building. They had a trained companion, trusted by them and the keepers, who, when the ball fell over the wall, ran to the main door of the front building and, by loud barking,

would summon the guard, who would allow him to go outside the walls, find the ball, and return with it to his play-fellows imprisoned in the yard. Mr. David Taylor, now a resident of Broad street, remembers well, when a boy, going to this old prison to see the convicts. Afterwards he had a wagon made by the prisoners, whom men employed in various trades. Mrs. Taylor remembers wearing shoes her parents had made here. Discipline was not so strict as now; visitors often talked to the prisoners when visiting them or going there for work to be done. This penitentiary remained in use till too small for the growing criminal population, and in 1832 a large and safe structure was begun on the site of the present penitentiary. Two years afterwards it was completed, and the convicts removed thither. For some time the State used the main penitentiary building for barracks and arsenal purposes.



THE OLD PENITENTIARY AS IT APPEARED IN 1846.

The accompanying cut is from a sketch made in 1846, by Mr. C. E. Thrall, now editor of *The Home Gazette*, the central Ohio organ of the Prohibitionists. At the time he made the sketch he was a school boy, and also made a number of others, now the only pictures of Columbus in existence of that date. He hardly realized the value of these souvenirs as he beguiled his leisure hours in their preparation.

After various uses, the old buildings and wall were demolished, and now not a vestige remains. Considerable litigation regarding the site resulted, owing to the removal of the penitentiary from its original dona-

tion. The State established its title, and laying out the ground into lots, eventually sold them. When the public buildings were completed, commissioners were mutually appointed, in April, 1817, to fix their value. Their valuation was fixed at eighty-three thousand dollars, and the proprietors received from the State in settlement thirty-three thousand dollars.

The public squares, when donated, were covered with a growth of forest trees. These were removed as necessity required during the erection of the public buildings. The State house square was enclosed by a rough brush and rail fence, erected under direction of Jarvis Pike, who partially cleared it and, during three or four years, raised very good crops of corn thereon. Afterwards it became a common, and was a favorite resort for town boys, who here enjoyed many a game of "tom cat," "round base," and similar games of ball. In 1834 the square was enclosed by a neat picket fence, under direction of Alfred Kelley, agent for the State. He improved the square to some extent, replacing some of the inferior forest trees with others more shady and ornamental. In 1839 this fence was taken down, and a tight, rough board fence, about twelve feet high, built around it, to screen the convicts at work on the foundations of the new State house. After the erection of the State house, and by persistent efforts on the part of citizens of Columbus, the legislature, from time to time, caused the square to be improved, and finally enclosed it with the present iron fence. The centre of the square was filled several feet, and made gradually declining in all directions. It is now tastefully laid out and presents a neat and somewhat attractive appearance.

The coming of the legislature and the State and court officers aided much to liven the society of the capital. The United States court was established in 1820, and a court house built for its use. It stood north of the offices, about where the western gate of the capital square is now placed, and is well shown in the illustrations in this article. In 1824 Columbus was made the county seat, and the county offices removed from Franklinton. Better houses, stores and shops, and larger and more commodious taverns were built to accommodate the growth of the rising town. But it was still a town in the woods, whose chief commercial outlet was the river bounding its western limits. A road from Franklinton passed through the cornfield and meadow on the plains below the town, crossed the river at a ford and ferry south of the penitentiary, and went on south to Lancaster. Up this route came the mail, and from Columbus or Franklinton went on to Worthington. Another road from Franklinton crossed the

river about the terminus of Gay or Spring street, and went on east through the settlements on Big Darby and Gahanna, and on to Granville and Newark, diverging to Mt. Vernon and other northern points. A road to Worthington passed up the river bank, and from thence went on to Delaware. In 1813 Mr. Sullivant built a wooden bridge across the Scioto, obtaining a charter enabling him to exact toll. It crossed the river from the foot of Broad street. It stood about ten years, when, being unsafe, it was rebuilt. In 1832 the toll bridge and franchise, the property of Joseph Sullivant, were purchased by citizens of Franklinton and Columbus for ten thousand dollars, and the bridge became part of the great national free turnpike. Soon after Columbus was founded, roads were made to Zanesville and other eastern points. The roads were through the forest, and were, at times, well nigh impassable. The rich soil froze in winter to a considerable depth, thawed in the spring, and filled with water from the summer rains. Bridges were almost unknown. Fords and ferries were the usual methods of crossing all streams. Heavy wagons, drawn by four and six horse teams, cut deep into the soil as they slowly wended their way westward with emigrants or merchandise. The road followed no certain track. It went from "side to side" as the circumstances of the soil demanded, finding new routes through the woods bordering the way. Entering the capital these thoroughfares diverged in different ways, not always following the streets. In truth, it would have been difficult at times to do so. In the efforts of settlers to establish their homes, but little attention was paid at first to streets and alleys. Pedestrians went "cross lots" any way they choose, as fences, as a rule, were used chiefly in keeping stock at night. The stumps of the fallen trees filled the streets, compelling wagons to adopt a serpentine course as they passed to and from town. Sidewalks, save as they covered pools and rills of water or mud holes, were not as a rule in use. No attempts were made to grade the streets, and, as a consequence, they were anything but pleasure drives. About the State house and public offices a brick pavement was made, and in front of a few stores and taverns board or brick walks were laid, but pedestrians generally went about over the town regardless of street boundaries. In dry weather they fared very well; in wet weather they did as their children sometimes do now when traversing High street immediately after a shower—"rain maledictions loud and deep" on the head of the town council, who then, as now, soon learned to placidly receive the abuse of

the constituents who first elevated them to office and then denounced them and their acts.

The stumpy streets, especially High street, received a cleaning in 1816, when, by a united effort, the citizens raised two hundred dollars for that purpose. This street was also somewhat improved, and began to appear something like a business thoroughfare. Front street was also not neglected. People could travel about the town moonlight nights in tolerable comfort, and with some degree of safety. When moonlight failed, a primitive lantern kept their feet from stumbling over stumps, logs or brush. The dim candle light was thought a great improvement over the tallow dip, as it shed its flickering light to guide them on their way.

By the time the "beginning" of the Buckeye Capital was over, and its growth had begun, it was a bustling town of about one thousand inhabitants, had half a dozen stores, as many taverns, perhaps twice as many shops of various kinds, one or two mills, two churches, and two or three good schools, supported by contributions, whose teachers sometimes "boarded 'round" and sometimes "boarded out." A tri-weekly mail soon came and went, affording the people often an opportunity to pay twenty-five cents or more on letters sent to them, which they received and sent without the use of envelopes.

The citizens were beginning to enjoy life in 1816; the day of the capital's infancy was over. Its life and its vigorous growth had begun, and, save an occasional check in its steady progress, it has not since known a sluggard's pace nor an idler's ease. The men of 1812 laid a good foundation for the Buckeye Capital. Those who followed builded well, and where three score and three years ago was an Ohio forest is now a busy city, whose ceaseless pulsations are an endearing monument to the energy and activity of the early pioneers of Ohio.

A. A. GRAHAM.

REV. JOSEPH BADGER.

There have been but few men in the clerical profession, or out of it, who have made a worthier or more exemplary life record for themselves than Rev. Joseph Badger. He fought for liberty in the Revolution, and for Christianity in the wilds of the Western Reserve. In the one case he fought with the musket, in the other with the sword of the spirit. Whether serving as a soldier or as a missionary, he proved himself steadfast and sincere in his devotion to duty.

Rev. Joseph Badger was born at Wilbraham, Mass., February 28, 1757. He was a lineal descendant of Giles Badger, who emigrated from England and settled at Newburyport, not far from Boston, about the year 1635. The father of Joseph was Henry Badger, who married Mary Landon. They were both devoutly pious, and equally poor in this world's goods. They instructed their son, Joseph, at an early age, in the catechism of the Puritan faith, and gave him such further elementary education as they were able at the domestic fireside. He grew strong in the faith as he grew to manhood, when he began to realize that, in sharing life with his parents, good and kind as they were, he shared their poverty. In consulting his mirror he was often painfully reminded of the fact that his garments, patched as they were, displayed about as many colors as the coat of his ancient namesake. Inspired with the patriotic sentiment of the times, and desiring not only to provide for himself but to obtain sufficient money to give himself a liberal education, he enlisted in 1775, when but eighteen years of age, in the Revolutionary army, as a common soldier, and was assigned to the regiment commanded by Colonel Patter-son. The regiment was stationed at Fort No. 3, near Litchmore's Point, in the vicinity of Boston. At the time of the battle on Breed's hill this regiment was posted on Cobble hill, in a line with the front of the American battery, and about a half mile distant, where every man of the regiment could see the fire from the whole line, and enjoy the fun of seeing

the British break their ranks, run down the hill, and then reluctantly return to the charge. On their third return, as luck would have it, they carried the works at the point of the bayonet. This was the first time after his enlistment that young Joseph had an opportunity to smell the smoke of British gunpowder. It was some time in September of the same year he enlisted, that the British landed three or four hundred men on Litchmore's Point to take off a herd of fat cattle. Colonel Patterson ordered his regiment to attack the marauders and prevent them from capturing the cattle. A sharp conflict ensued, in which Joseph tested the virtues of his musket and poured into the enemy nine or ten shots in rapid succession and with apparent effect. Several were killed and others wounded on both sides. Joseph escaped unharmed. But soon after this skirmish he took a violent cold, attended with a severe cough. His captain advised him to return home until he could recover. This he did, and within twenty days came back and rejoined his regiment quite restored to health.

The British evacuated Boston on the seventeenth of March, 1776. On the next day Colonel Patterson's regiment, with several other regiments, was ordered to New York, where they remained for three weeks, and were then ordered to Canada. They were transported up the Hudson to Albany, and thence by way of lakes George and Champlain and St. Johns to La Prairie, on the banks of the St. Lawrence and in sight of Montreal. On the way the troops suffered severely from exposure to rain storms and snow storms, and from want of provisions. They arrived at La Prairie late in the day, and in a state bordering on starvation, and there they encamped supperless. The next day each soldier received a ration of a few ounces of mouldy bread for breakfast, and a thin slice of stale meat for supper. Joseph accepted his share of the dainty feast without a murmur, but doubtless thought the wayfaring soldier had a pretty "hard road to travel." A part of Colonel Patterson's regiment was then ordered up the river to a small fort at Cedar Rapids, which was besieged by a British captain with one company of regulars and about five hundred Indians, led by Brant, the famous Indian chief. The Indians were thirsting for blood. A fierce conflict ensued, which lasted for an hour or more, when the enemy was compelled to retreat towards the fort. At this juncture a parley was called, and the firing ceased. A number were killed and more wounded. It so happened that the fifth company, to which Joseph belonged, did not arrive in time to participate in the fight, though they had

approached so near the scene as to hear the firing and see the rolling cloud of battle-smoke. Joseph expressed his regret that he had lost so good an opportunity to give his flint-lock a second trial. The detachment was now ordered to retreat to La Chine, a French village about six miles above Montreal. Here they were reinforced by the arrival of eight hundred men, under command of General Arnold. The entire force advanced to the outlet of Bason Lake, at St. Anns, where they embarked on board the boats and steered for a certain point about three miles distant. In passing, the force was fired upon by the enemy, armed with guns and two small cannon. A shower of shot seemed to come from every direction, and, as the boats containing the Americans were about to land at the point sought, they received, amid hideous yells from the Indians in ambush, a hailstorm of bullets that rattled as they struck the boats and grazed some of the men. The men in the boats returned the fire as best they could. It was marvelous that none of the Americans were killed or seriously wounded. "It appeared to me," said Joseph, "a wonderful, providential escape." A British captain by the name of Foster was shot in the thigh. It was now nearly sunset when General Arnold ordered a retreat. The night was spent in making preparations for the morrow. It was near morning when Captain Foster came over to General Arnold and agreed with him to a cartel by which certain prisoners were exchanged. The American prisoners were returned in a destitute and forlorn condition. The pitiful sight deeply excited the generous sympathies of the kind-hearted Joseph, who did what he could to comfort them by dividing his own supplies with them.

General Arnold now returned with his troops to Montreal, exercising great vigilance to avoid further surprise. He then crossed the St. Lawrence and encamped at St. Johns. Here the small-pox soon appeared in camp. In order to avoid the severity of the disease, Joseph procured the requisite virus and inoculated himself with the point of a needle, which produced the desired effect. Two days after the disease had appeared in camp, the troops were ordered to Chambly. The British hove in sight and began to land on the opposite side of the bay. The invalids were numerous and continued to increase. They were directed to march back to St. Johns, a distance of twelve miles. Most of them could hardly carry gun, cartridge-box and blanket, and were often obliged to sit down and rest by the wayside, Joseph among the rest. In the course of a few days the sick were transported to Isle aux Noix, at which place all the

shattered army were collected under command of General Heath. From this place the troops, including the sick, proceeded amid sundry embarrassments to Crown Point, where they encamped. Here the small-pox spread among the men, and in its most aggravated form, with fearful rapidity. The scene in camp soon became appalling. The groans and cries of the sick and dying were heard night and day without cessation. As it happened, the surgeons, for want of medicines and hospital stores, could render but little aid. In some instances as many as thirty patients died in a day, and were buried in a single vault or pit, for the reason that there were not well men enough to bury them in separate graves. The humane and philanthropic Joseph, who had previously inoculated himself with success, and thus avoided further danger from the contagion, now devoted himself to nursing and caring for his sick companions-in-arms with unwearied assiduity. As soon as the contagion began to abate, the sick were transferred in boats to Fort George, while the men fit for service were ordered to Mount Independence, opposite Ticonderoga, to erect works of defense. The mount was covered with forest trees, loose rocks, and dens infested with rattlesnakes, which often crept into camp and were killed. At this time Joseph suffered for want of the clothes he had lost in the retreat from Canada, and had, in fact, worn the only shirt he had for six weeks, and was so incommoded with vermin that he was compelled to take off his shirt, wash it without soap, wring it out, and put it on wet. He was also scourged with an irritating cutaneous disease, which induced him to retire some distance from camp, fire a log-heap and roast himself, after anointing with a mixture of grease and brimstone. The camp was destitute of indispensable conveniences, and the hospital in which lay the sick had not a dish of any kind in which could be administered a sup of gruel, broth, or a drink of water. Resort was had to wooden troughs, or dishes, cut out with a hatchet or penknife. The colonel, in passing through the hospital, said: "I wish there was a man to be found here who can turn wooden dishes." Joseph, who understood the art, replied: "Furnish me the tools and I will do it." The tools were furnished, and Joseph soon turned from the aspen poplar an ample supply of wooden cups and trenchers. He was also often employed in making bread, and, in fact, was a sort of universal genius and could do almost anything. At the instance of General Washington he was also employed at times to aid in negotiating treaties of friendship with the Indians. But, after being transferred several times from one military point to another, and suffering more

or less from hardships, his health became so impaired that the principal surgeon gave him a discharge, and he returned to his home in Massachusetts. He soon afterward so far recovered that he reenlisted and served as an orderly sergeant till the first of January, 1778, when his time expired, and he returned to his father's house once more, having been in the service a little more than three years. He received, on retiring from the army, about two hundred dollars in paper currency, which was so depreciated that he could not purchase, with the whole of it, a decent coat. He then (for the next six months) engaged in the business of weaving on shares, and during that time wove sixteen hundred yards of plain cloth. This enabled him to clothe himself decently, and to spend the ensuing winter in improving his education. At this time, as he said, he "had no Christian hope," but continued to labor and study during the year 1779, when a religious revival occurred, and he acquired a Christian hope with a determination to fit himself for the ministry. Encouraged by his friend, Rev. Mr. Day, he prosecuted the requisite preliminary studies, and at the same time taught a family school in order to meet his expenses. He entered college in 1781 and graduated in 1785. He then studied theology and was licensed to preach in 1786. He soon received a call and was ordained as pastor of the church at Blandford, Mass. He had previously married Miss Lois Noble, who was a young lady of refinement and exemplary piety. In October, 1800, he resigned his pastorate at Blandford and received a regular dismissal.

The Connecticut Missionary Society, whose central office was at Hartford, had formed a high estimate of the character and sincere piety of Rev. Joseph Badger, and at once tendered him the appointment to go, under the auspices of the society, as a missionary to the Western Reserve. This was the kind of Christian labor in which he preferred to engage. He therefore accepted the appointment, and, leaving his family at home until he could explore somewhat his new field of service, he took his departure on horseback, November 15, 1800, bound for the Western Reserve. He took what was then called the southern route, crossed the Alleghany mountains in the midst of a snow storm, and, after a weary journey, arrived at Pittsburgh on the fourteenth of December. Here he rested for a day or two, and then resumed his "journey through the wilderness," and, after a weary ride of a hundred miles or more, reached Youngstown, one of the earliest settlements in the Reserve, on Saturday night at a late hour, and was kindly received. The next day he preached at Youngs-

town his first sermon in the Reserve. The town at that time consisted of some half-dozen log cabins. His audience included nearly every soul in town, though but a handful, who had assembled in one of the large cabins, and who seemed pleased to receive from his lips "the glad tidings of great joy." Gratified with his reception at Youngstown, and resolving to lose no time in expediting his missionary labors, he rode the next day to Vienna, where but one family had settled; thence to Hartford, where but three families had settled, and thence to Vernon, where he found but five families. In making these successive visits he did good work. While at Vernon he was informed that Mr. Palmer, the head of the family settled at Vienna, had been taken suddenly sick and was not expected to live. There was no doctor residing in all that region of country. Rev. Mr. Badger hastened at once to the relief of the sick man and nursed him for eight days, when he so far recovered that his providential nurse could safely leave him. In this way Rev. Mr. Badger visited, in the course of the year 1801, every settlement and nearly every family throughout the Western Reserve. In doing this he often rode from five to twenty-five or thirty miles a day, carrying with him in saddle-bags a scanty supply of clothing and eatables, and often traversing pathless woodlands amid storms and tempests, swimming unbridged rivers, and suffering from cold and hunger, and at the same time here and there visiting lone families, giving them and their children religious instruction and wholesome advice, and preaching at points wherever a few could be gathered together, sometimes in a log cabin or in a barn, and sometimes in the open field or in a woodland, beneath the shadows of the trees. At about this time he preached the first sermon ever heard in Cleveland. In response to all this benevolent work he had the satisfaction of knowing that he was almost universally received with a heartfelt appreciation of his services and with a liberal hospitality. Though most of the early settlers were poor, they cheerfully "broke bread with him," and gave him the larger share of such luxuries as they happened to have at command. Even the Indians, who were quite numerous, treated him kindly and with respect. He took especial pains to enlighten and instruct them, and soon acquired such a knowledge of their language as enabled him to communicate readily with them.

In September of 1801, he journeyed on horseback to Detroit, with a view to extend the field of his missionary labors. On reaching the banks of Huron river, late in the evening, he stopped at an Indian hut, desiring to remain for the night. He was kindly received by the inmates—an aged

Indian hunter and his squaw. The squaw cut fodder from the cornfield and fed his horse, and soon presented him with a supper of boiled string-beans, buttered with bear's oil, in a wooden bowl that was cut and carved out from the knot of a tree with a hatchet and knife. Hungry, as he really was, he relished the feast. She then spread for him, on the floor, a bed of bearskins and clean blankets, on which he enjoyed a refreshing night's sleep. In the morning she gave him for breakfast a corn bread cake, baked in the embers. It contained inside a sprinkling of black beans, and resembled plum cake. While he was eating, he expressed his admiration of the bread. The squaw replied: "Eat, it is good; it is such bread as God gives the Indians." He then resumed his journey to Detroit, where he remained a few days. While there, and while on his way to and from there, he held religious interviews with all he met, who were willing to converse in relation to their spiritual welfare, whether white men or Indians, but found no one, as he said, in all that region whom he could regard as a Christian, "except a black man, who appeared pious." On his return he visited Hudson, where he found a few professors of religion. Here he organized a church, consisting of ten males and six females. This was the first church organized in the Western Reserve. The next morning, October 25th, he took his departure from the Reserve and returned by way of Buffalo to his family in New England, preaching as he went at such settlements as offered a favorable opportunity. He arrived at home January 1, 1802, after an absence of thirteen months and fifteen days. He found his dear family all well, and, like David of old, blessed the Lord who had "redeemed his life from destruction and crowned him with loving kindness and tender mercies."

Soon after his arrival he visited Hartford and reported to the Missionary Society what he had done and the character of his work, and agreed to return with his family to the same field of missionary labor, and for such compensation as the society chose to allow him, which was but seven dollars per week. This was, at that time, considered a sufficient sum to meet the current expenses of himself and family. He exchanged his former homestead at Blandford for land in the Western Reserve. On the twenty-third of February, 1802, he started on his journey to the Western Reserve in a wagon drawn by four horses and loaded with a few household goods, his wife and six children, and himself driving the team. He took the route leading through the State of New York to Buffalo, and thence followed the southerly shore of Lake Erie to Austinburgh in the Reserve,

where he and his family were received with a hearty welcome to the home and hospitalities of his friend, Colonel Eliphalet Austin. He accomplished the journey, a distance of six hundred miles, in sixty days. This was traveling at a pretty rapid rate, as was then thought. He remarked, when he had reached the hospitable home of his friend Austin, that he and his family seemed destined to share God's promise to his ancient Israel: "And they shall dwell safely in the wilderness and sleep in the woods."

He now purchased a small lot of land in Austinburgh on credit, and soon, with the aid of a few kind settlers, erected a log cabin in which to shelter his family. He found it difficult to procure sufficient provisions, but soon succeeded in obtaining a sack of coarse flour in the vicinity, and, hearing of a barrel of pork for sale at Painesville, he sent a man with a team thirty miles through the woods to purchase it, and paid twenty silver dollars for it, and found on opening it that it contained the "whole hog," feet, head, snout and ears, and weighed but one hundred and seventy pounds. This, with the milk from two cows that were pastured in the woods and sometimes missed for a day or two, was all the provision he could make for his family when it became necessary for him to leave them and enter upon his missionary labors in other parts of the Reserve. He visited Mentor, Chagrin and other settlements. At Euclid he found a family by the name of Burke, who had resided in a lone situation in the woods for over three years in so destitute a condition that the wife had been obliged to spin cattle's hair and weave it into blankets to cover her children's bed and save them from suffering in cold weather. At Newburgh he visited five families, the only residents in the place, but discovered to his regret "no apparent piety among any of them. They all seemed to glory in their infidelity." He continued visiting families and preaching throughout the southeastern part of the Reserve, and establishing churches. He called on his return at "Perkins' Station" in Trumbull county, where an election was pending and a goodly number of voters present. He was invited to dine with them. All took their seats and began to help themselves, when he interrupted them and remarked: "Gentlemen, if you will attend with Christian decency, and hear me invoke the blessing of God, I will sit down with you, otherwise I cannot." Knives and forks were instantly laid down and a blessing invoked. He then continued on his way home. Soon after this a revival commenced in most of the infant settlements, and his missionary labors were largely increased.

In some of the settlements the revival was attended with miraculous power. In many instances the converts were stricken down in convulsions, groaned in apparent agonies, and tore their hair; and in other instances they fell in a trance, saw visions, awoke and leaped for joy, shouting long and loud, "Glory to God." All this surprised the itinerant missionary, and presented him with a problem which he could not solve, yet, being a Presbyterian of the "Calvinistic school" and charitably inclined, he attributed the "spasmodic demonstrations" to the mysterious workings of the Holy Spirit. The people far and near partook of the excitement and flocked to hear him. On one occasion he preached to an audience of five hundred. Though some scoffed, many professed to have experienced religion. The general impression was in those days that conversion consisted in experiencing some sudden and mysterious shock—a Puritanic idea that is now held to be absurd—yet this wild excitement doubtless produced some good fruit, if not a "rich harvest." Be this as it may, Rev. Mr. Badger persevered in extending his labors, and, between June 18 and July 1 of the year 1802, rode two hundred miles, preached eight sermons and administered two sacraments. In riding through the dense woodlands, especially after nightfall, he was often followed by hungry wolves and bears, manifesting a desire to cultivate a toothsome acquaintance with him. On one occasion, when riding through a dark and pathless forest late at night, along the banks of Grand river, and drenched with rain, he discovered by the sound of distinct footsteps that some large animal was following him. He stopped his horse, turned on the saddle, and with loud vociferations and clapping of hands attempted to frighten the animal away, but, instead of the noise having the desired effect, the bear, as it proved to be, sprang towards him with hair standing on end and with eyes flashing fire. At this critical juncture, as Rev. Mr. Badger states in his diary: "I had no weapon of defense. I thought best to leave the ground, turned to the left and walked my horse partly by the bear, when the brute stepped directly on behind me and within a few paces. By this time it had become so dark I could see nothing, not even my hand holding the bridle, and the bear was still snapping his teeth and approaching nearer. I had in my hand a large, heavy horseshoe, took aim by his noise and threw the shoe, but effected no alarm of the enemy. To ride away was impossible in a pathless wood, thick with brush and fallen timber. I concluded to resort to a tree if I could find one. I reined my horse first to the right and then to the left, at which instant some sloping limbs

brushed my hat. On feeling them I found them to be long pliable, beech limbs. I reined my horse again and came with his shoulder close to the tree. I tied the bridle to the limbs, raised myself on the saddle, and by aid of the small limbs began to climb. I soon got hold of a limb large enough to bear me, and at this instant the evil beast came to the tree with violent snuffing and snapping. I fixed my stand on the limb, took out a sharp knife, the only weapon I had, and prepared for battle. But I soon heard the bear snuffing near the horse's nose as he was crunching the boughs and leaves within his reach. I then ascended about forty feet, as near the top of the tree as I thought was safe, found a convenient place to sit on a limb, and then tied myself with a large bandanna to the tree, so as not to fall if I fell into a drowse. The bear continued smelling at the horse until he had passed around him to the opposite side of the tree, and all was still but the champing of the horse. By the roaring of the wind it appeared that a heavy gust was approaching. It soon began to rain powerfully, with wind and heavy peals of thunder. At this time the horse shook himself, which startled the bear to a quick rush for a few rods, when he stopped and violently snapped his teeth, and there remained until a few minutes before daylight, when he went off. My horse, standing as he did at the foot of the tree, without moving a foot from the place where I left him, and in no way frightened by the approach and management of the bear, seemed to me peculiarly providential. This was the only time I was disturbed in camping out many times. As soon as I could see to take my course I mounted my horse and arrived at my house, about six miles from my lodging place in the tree, with a pretty good appetite for breakfast. Having in my saddle-bags two volumes of the 'Ohio State Laws,' it was remarked by some of my friends that the old bear did not like so near a 'union of church and State.'"

Rev. Mr. Badger continued his missionary work with zeal and with highly encouraging prospects. He organized many churches and schools and distributed many Bibles and school books, and often assisted the settlers in erecting their log cabins and in securing their harvests. In 1804 the Missionary Society reduced his compensation to six dollars a week, being the same they allowed other missionaries nearer home. This he did not relish, but accepted the reduced pittance, remarking that he would go on with his work and trust to Him who "feeds the ravens." At this time he was obliged to pay at the rate of sixteen dollars a barrel for salt pork, though other provisions were comparatively cheap and plenty.

Early in the spring of 1809 his house was burned, and nothing saved except two beds and a few articles of clothing. He at once built a small cabin, with the generous aid of his neighbors, and moved his family into it, without bedstead, table, knife, fork or spoon. In June of the same year he returned to Hartford, Connecticut, and made a final settlement with the Connecticut Missionary Society, and received an honorable discharge from further service as a missionary under its auspices. He then proposed to engage in missionary work among the Indians west of the Cuyahoga, known as the Wyandots, and having, within a short time, received cash donations for this purpose in New England to the amount of over a thousand dollars, he returned to the Reserve and commenced his missionary labors among the Indians at lower Sandusky, which he regarded as a central point, and from which he extended his labors in the region round about so as to include all the Indian villages in the vicinity of the lake, from the west side of the Cuyahoga river to the city of Detroit. This mission was called the "Wyandot Mission." His labors in this missionary field consisted mainly in visiting the Indians in their lodges, instructing them and their children in the elementary principles of Christianity and in the observance of peaceful relations. He also gave them practical lessons in agriculture and other arts of civilized life, and tried to reform their intemperate habits by condemning the use of whiskey. He was a staunch advocate of "temperance in all things," denounced slavish habits and also slavery long before the latter became the subject of political agitation. In 1812 he took a deep and active interest in the war, and accepted the position of chaplain in the command of General Harrison. He also exercised a wide influence over the Indians in preventing them from making alliances with the enemy. At the close of the war he resumed his missionary labors. In August, 1818, his good wife died and left to him the care of their children. His grief seemed unconsolable, but he soon so far overcame it as to marry, in April, 1819, Miss Abigail Ely for a second wife. In the following June he took his bridal trip with her to his old home in New England, and, after a brief but delightful visit, returned and devoted himself to preaching in the eastern part of the Reserve, where he soon settled as pastor of the church at Austinburg, a church which he had organized, and which had become so large in the number of its communicants that it was generally known as the "mother church" of the Reserve. He subsequently officiated as pastor of the church at Ashtabula for some years, then at Kingsville, and lastly at Gus-

tavus, Trumbull county, where he settled in 1825, and where he officiated not only as pastor of the parish, but as postmaster, having been appointed to the latter office by the postmaster general. In 1835 he resigned his position as pastor at Gustavus, and preached a farewell sermon, taking the following words for his text: "Finally, brethren, farewell. Be perfect, be of good comfort, be of one mind, live in peace, and the God of love and peace will be with you." The sermon was a masterly one, and the audience was affected to tears. It was long remembered, and was never forgotten by those who heard it. He had now become so enfeebled by age as to disqualify him for further service as pastor of a church. From Gustavus he went to reside with his married daughter in the township of Plain, Wood county, Ohio, where, for eight or nine years, he devoted more or less time, as he was able, to missionary work in the vicinity. In 1844 he changed his residence and went to the neighboring town of Perrysburg, where he lived with his married granddaughter, and where he died in 1846, at the advanced age of eighty-nine years. In six months afterward his wife died. But two of his six children survived him.

In personal appearance Rev. Joseph Badger was tall, slim, erect, had blue eyes, brown hair, and a pleasing expression of face. In temperament and action he was quick and somewhat impulsive, yet he was considerate and slow of utterance, rarely, if ever, uttering an imprudent word. In his social intercourse he was sedate or facetious as the occasion seemed to require. He enjoyed hearing and telling amusing anecdotes. In his style of preaching he was apostolic, plain, simple and logical. He had but one grand aim in life, and that was to do what he could to advance the moral and spiritual welfare of mankind. In a word, Rev. Joseph Badger, though dead, still lives and will ever live in memory as the early western missionary whose philanthropic and life-long labors were prompted by the spirit of a true Christian manhood.

HARVEY RICE.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON.

II.

Something more than a temporary peace would probably have resulted from the defeat of the Indians on the field of Tippecanoe, had not the declaration of war between Great Britain and the United States, on the eighteenth of June, 1812, opened to the crafty Tecumseh a new field. On the commencement of hostilities he began anew his intrigues, and by simultaneous attacks at remote points on the frontier, plunged the border settlements into a state of alarm that for some years effectually prevented further emigration. Possessing the unlimited confidence of the inhabitants of his own territory, Governor Harrison was also recognized by the State of Kentucky as the foremost military leader in the west, and on the twenty-fifth of August, 1812, he was commissioned, by Governor Shelby of that State, major-general of the militia of Kentucky. Three days earlier President Madison forwarded him a commission as brigadier-general in the army of the United States, which commission he received September 2, while on the march with the volunteers toward Piqua. Already, on the sixteenth of August, Detroit had been disgracefully surrendered, and, on his arrival at Piqua, General Harrison learned of the investment of Fort Wayne by a large body of British and Indians. Proceeding directly to that point, he arrived on the twelfth, to find the siege raised and the enemy gone. Here he was joined on the eighteenth by General Winchester, who was chief in command. Returning, General Harrison reached Piqua on the twenty-fourth, where he found awaiting him a dispatch from the secretary of war, in reference to a letter written regarding the acceptance of the commission of brigadier-general. The dispatch thus began: "The President is pleased to assign to you the command of the north-western army, which, in addition to the regular troops and rangers in that quarter, will consist of the volunteers and militia of Kentucky, Ohio, and three thousand from Virginia and Pennsylvania, making your whole force

ten thousand men." He was further informed that "Colonel Buford, deputy commissioner at Lexington, is furnished with funds, and is subject to your orders." The dispatch concluded: "You will command such means as may be practicable. Exercise your own discretion, and act in all cases according to your own judgment." Never since the war of the Revolution had such latitude been given a military commander, and then only to Washington.

General Winchester had projected an expedition to the rapids of the Miami, and was already *en route*, when information reached him of the appointment of Harrison as major-general and commander-in-chief of the army in the northwest. While Winchester was on the march, considerable addition was made to the force then assembled at Dayton, in the arrival of three regiments of infantry and three companies of mounted riflemen from Kentucky, as well as a battalion of mounted men from Ohio, under Colonel Findlay. The supplies with which Winchester's troops were provided becoming exhausted, they were reaching the point of starvation, when Colonel Jennings, in command of an escort conveying provisions, arrived at the camp near Defiance and relieved their immediate necessities. Harrison now arranged a plan for an autumn campaign, which had in view the seizure and occupancy of the strategic point at the Maumee rapids, and offensive operations directed against Malden, and looking to the recapture of Detroit. Difficulties arising from conflict of authority between regular and volunteer officers produced a measure of discouragement and discontent that detracted from the efficiency of the army, and the results of the campaign were slight.

Establishing his headquarters at Franklinton,* the months of October, November and December were occupied in making plans and concentrating troops, munitions and supplies in readiness for an effective winter campaign. On the thirteenth of October he wrote the secretary of war: "I am fully sensible of the responsibility invested in me. I accepted it with full confidence of being able to effect the wishes of the President, or to show unequivocally their impracticability. If the fall should be very dry, I will take Detroit before the winter sets in; but if we should have much rain, it will be necessary to wait at the rapids until the Miami of the Lake (Maumee) is sufficiently frozen over to bear the army and its baggage." The plan he proposed was to march to Detroit with a large force, capture that fort and, making that a base of supplies, take the

* On the west bank of the Scioto, included in the present limits of Columbus, Ohio.

offensive on Canadian soil. On the eighteenth of January a detachment from General Winchester's force captured Frenchtown; three days later occurred the bloody massacre of the River Raisin, resulting in a total loss of nine hundred and thirty-four, of whom one hundred and ninety-seven were killed and missing. This expedition was commanded by General Winchester in person, who was alone to blame for the disastrous result. As soon as he was informed of the advance upon Frenchtown, General Harrison dispatched a battalion of three hundred men to the support of Winchester, and himself proceeded to the rapids to learn personally the situation of the troops. On his arrival he was informed of Proctor's attack on the force at Frenchtown, and immediately departed, with all the available troops at his command, to their relief, but was soon met by fugitives from the field of disaster, from whom he learned of the defeat and capture of Winchester and his men.

On the first of February the army amounted to eighteen hundred men; a winter camp was established at Fort Meigs, while General Harrison proceeded to Cincinnati to secure and forward needed supplies. In the early spring of 1813 the general received information that a large force of British and Indians were *en route* to attack Fort Meigs. Hastily assembling a force consisting of three thousand Kentucky volunteers, he himself reached the fort just in time to receive the attack. For five days a terrible fire was kept up against the garrison, who were well protected by the defenses. The arrival of reinforcements decided him upon making a sortie from the fort, when followed a severe struggle, lasting nearly an hour, in the course of which the enemy, though nearly double the number of the assailing party, were driven from their guns and forced to retire. The attack of the reinforcements was disastrous; of one detachment of eight hundred men, but one hundred and seventy ever reached Fort Meigs. Two months later, early in July, the fort was again attacked, this time by a combined force of five thousand British and Indians. To protect his supplies at Upper Sandusky, Harrison erected fortifications at Senecatown, nine miles up the river. The enemy were unable to effect the capture of Fort Meigs, and after a few days' siege abandoned the enterprise and divided their force, a detachment attempting the capture of Fort Stephenson (now Fremont). Here they were again foiled and forced to embark their command and depart, having suffered severe loss in the attack on Fort Stephenson. The succession of defeats that had followed the British arms thus far had an effect upon the Indian allies,

who departed in large numbers. Tecumseh, however, yet remained true to British gold and the rank of brigadier-general that had been conferred upon him, and with him remained a considerable body of Indians.

On the eighteenth of August arrived Commodore Perry, with a fleet of eight vessels, and took post at Put-in-Bay. On the tenth of September he attacked the British fleet under Barclay, and, after a severe engagement, lasting three hours, captured every vessel in the enemy's fleet. On the twenty-seventh, Harrison's army was landed on the shores of Canada; then followed the descent upon Malden, which was easily captured, the British general, Proctor, hastily departing toward Sandwich. A council of general officers was then held, at which General Harrison informed them "that there were but two ways of accomplishing their object (the defeat or capture of Proctor), one of which was to follow him up the strait by land; the other, to embark and sail down Lake Erie to Long Point, then march hastily across by land twelve miles to the road, and intercept him." The former proposition was approved and the army rapidly advanced up the Thames. On the fifth of October the enemy was overtaken, posted in a strong position, the right flanked by a swamp, the left by the river Thames. The swamp was occupied by Tecumseh and his warriors. Immediate preparations were made for battle. Having disposed of his force in the best possible manner, as it appeared from his position, at the last moment General Harrison ordered a change. He was informed that the enemy was drawn up in open order, and instead of advancing to the attack with a body of infantry, he ordered Colonel Johnson to the front with his mounted riflemen. Space for manœuvring being limited, that brave officer, on the sound of the bugle, advanced with the second battalion of his regiment only, and, receiving the enemy's fire, boldly dashed forward to the charge. The British line was broken and the foe scattered in every direction, followed by a destructive fire from the pursuing horsemen. So furious was the onslaught that the frightened soldiers threw down their arms and cried for quarter. Within five minutes almost the entire British force, consisting of some eight hundred men, was captured. Fifty soldiers, under Lieutenant Bullock, alone escaped. General Proctor was pursued in his carriage, escorted by a small body of dragoons, Indians and his personal staff, and only escaped by abandoning the vehicle and taking to the woods. The Indian allies made a desperate resistance, but the superior military training of the riflemen and infantry was more than a match for their undisciplined numbers; to this may be

added the disheartening effect produced by the death, in the early part of the action, of Tecumseh. They fled in disorder, leaving thirty-three of their dead on the field. The American loss was fifteen killed and thirty wounded; the British lost eighteen killed, twenty-six wounded, and six hundred prisoners. Altogether the Americans captured about five thousand small arms, besides several pieces of artillery.

The victory was complete, the battle short and decisive, the loss small, and the result great in many ways. The Americans had gained more than had been lost by Hull's disgraceful surrender. They now had complete control of the chain of lakes above Erie, and the savage foe in the north-west was defeated and humiliated. Harrison's name was in every mouth, his praise sung by the entire nation. Congress afterwards gave him their cordial thanks and caused a gold medal to be struck commemorative of his valuable services. At the same time was struck a medal in honor of Governor Isaac Shelby, of Kentucky, who, as a volunteer in command of the Kentucky militia, did valiant service on that day. In his message to Congress, on the seventh of December, 1813, President Madison spoke of the result as "signally honorable to Major-General Harrison, by whose military talents it was prepared." Mr. Cheeves, in a speech to Congress, thus alluded to the subject: "The victory of Harrison was such as would have secured to a Roman general, in the best days of the republic, the honors of a triumph. He put an end to the war in the uppermost Canada." In his message to the legislature of Pennsylvania, Governor Snyder said: "The blessings of thousands of women and children, rescued from the scalping-knife of the ruthless savage of the wilderness, and from the still more savage Proctor, rest on Harrison and his gallant army."

After securing the results of the victory, there being no further demand for an armed force in this part of Canada, Harrison dispatched his troops to Niagara, whence they were ordered to Sackett's Harbor for the defense of that place. Having no command in that department, General Harrison proceeded to Washington, where he remained but a few days, the President deeming his services of greater value in raising troops and devising means of protection for the border settlements of Indiana. General Armstrong, at that time secretary of war, in planning the campaign of 1814, provided no command for General Harrison, who thereupon tendered his resignation, which, in the absence of President Madison, was accepted. In the summer of the same year he was appointed by the President, in conjunction with Governor Shelby and General Lewis Cass, to treat with

the Indians of the northwest, and when, in the following year, the treaty of Ghent provided for the pacification of several important tribes, he was placed at the head of the commission.

The duties connected with this commission being successfully terminated, General Harrison returned to his farm, near Cincinnati. He was not long permitted to remain in obscurity, the district in which he lived electing him, in 1816, a representative in Congress, to supply a vacancy; he was afterward elected for the full term. After taking his seat in Congress, his conduct while in command of the northwestern army was impugned by a contractor, whose source of profit was cut off by order of General Harrison. Full investigation into the case resulted in completely exonerating him from all charges brought against him. His service in Congress was marked by two important measures. The first, providing for reform in the militia organizations of the country, met with decided opposition in the House and failed of passage. The other, for the relief of veteran soldiers of the Revolution, as well as those wounded or disabled in the last war with Great Britain, appealed to the sense of justice of the Nation and was immediately passed. It was during his term of service in the House of Representatives that Congress passed the resolution providing that gold medals be struck off in commemoration of the services of himself and Governor Isaac Shelby in the battle of the Thames.

After three years' service in the House, in 1819 General Harrison was elected to the Senate of Ohio; and in 1824 he was chosen one of the presidential electors of the State, and in the electoral college cast his vote for Henry Clay. In 1824 the legislature of Ohio elected him to a seat in the Senate of the United States, and he succeeded General Jackson as chairman of the committee on military affairs. He was a firm supporter of the administration of President Adams, who appointed him, in 1828, minister plenipotentiary to the United States of Colombia. There he was cordially received, but his residence abroad was terminated immediately following the inauguration of President Jackson. Returning to Ohio, he lived in retirement on his farm at North Bend, on the Ohio river, a few miles below Cincinnati. His public services had not been such as to add to his pecuniary resources, being marked throughout by the strictest integrity. Pride of station was not an element in his nature, and when came the offer of the clerkship of Hamilton county, it was accepted with the same spirit he would have exhibited had it been an election to a high office in State or Nation. There he remained ten years, performing the duties con-

nected with his office with the same fidelity that characterized his every public act.

In 1835 meetings of the people in Pennsylvania, New York, Ohio and other States, united in the nomination of General Harrison as a candidate for President, to succeed Andrew Jackson, whose term was approaching a close. His opponent was Martin Van Buren, who was then serving as Vice-President. The opposition to Van Buren was not united on Harrison, Daniel Webster, Hugh L. White and Willie P. Mangum receiving many votes in the States in which they lived. Without concerted action on the part of his friends, Harrison received in the electoral college seventy-three votes. Mr. Van Buren received one hundred and seventy votes in the electoral college and was elected President.



PRESIDENT HARRISON'S RESIDENCE AT NORTH BEND.

The national Whig convention assembled in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, December 4, 1839. The names presented to the convention for their consideration were Henry Clay, General Winfield Scott and William Henry Harrison. After a free interchange of views as to the merits of the respective candidates, General Harrison received the nomination for President. For Vice-President, John Tyler of Virginia received the vote of the convention. Then followed the exciting presidential contest, since historically familiar as the "hard-cider" campaign. This name was given it as descriptive of the house in which lived the candidate for President. The

eastern end of the Harrison mansion at North Bend was formed of one of the original log cabins built by some of the early settlers, and which was afterwards clapboarded over, when a larger addition was constructed. Soon after his nomination the partisans of General Harrison started the story that he lived in a log cabin, the latch-string of which was always out so that travelers might readily enter, and a mug of cider was always ready for the thirsty wayfarer. Great mass meetings were held in various places, at which a prominent feature was a log cabin, in front of which were placed barrels of cider for free distribution to the thirsty crowd. The demoralization that attended these meetings was great, and many young men and boys formed the habit of drink that produced untold misery in after life.

The vote in the electoral college stood: For Harrison, two hundred and thirty four; for Van Buren, sixty. The effect of the election of Harrison was the triumph of principles of reform in correcting the abuses of the administrations of Jackson and Van Buren. The final outcome was a continuation, in a slightly modified form, of the principles of the two previous administrations, by Mr. Tyler, the Vice-President, who soon succeeded President Harrison in office.

An immense concourse assembled in front of the capitol at Washington, on the morning of the fourth of March, 1841, to witness the inauguration of William Henry Harrison as the ninth President of the United States. John Tyler had already taken the oath of office as Vice-President. After the delivery of an appropriate address to the Senate by the Vice-President, General Harrison entered and took the seat prepared for him in front of the secretary's table, where he remained a few minutes until preparations were completed for forming the line of procession to the platform erected for the occasion, over the portico of the capitol. On taking the place assigned him on the platform, he was received with enthusiastic cheers by the assembled multitude. When the applause had subsided, in a clear, distinct voice he proceeded to read his inaugural address to the Nation. When but a few sentences remained unuttered, the oath of office was administered by Chief Justice Taney, after which the President concluded his address.

The multitude followed the procession to the White House, where the President held a reception to as many as were able to enter the mansion. Immediately entering upon the duties of his office, President Harrison sent to the Senate the names of cabinet officers as follows: Daniel Webster of Massachusetts, secretary of State; Thomas Ewing of Ohio, secretary of the treasury; John Bell of Tennessee, secretary of war; George E. Badger of North Carolina, secretary of the navy; Francis Granger of New York, postmaster-general; John J. Crittenden of Kentucky, attorney-general. These nominations were confirmed by the Senate, as were a number of other nominations sent in by the President, most of which were appointments to fill vacancies. The Senate then adjourned on the fifteenth

day of March. Two days later the President called an extra session of Congress to take into consideration the finances and revenue of the country. The administration being settled and all departments in complete order for transaction of the duties pertaining to them, President Harrison devoted himself to the people, after attending to the business of each day. At all hours he was accessible, and the continued strain upon mind and body weakened his physical system. Although sixty-eight years of age, so regular and temperate had been his habits that he presented the appearance of perfect health, was active and cheerful, and bade fair to conduct his administration to a successful close. The cares of office weighed upon him, however, and, after several days of indisposition, on the twenty-seventh of March he was prostrated with a chill, attended by severe fever.



TOMB OF PRESIDENT HARRISON.

Then followed bilious pneumonia, and on Sunday morning, April 4, after an illness of eight days, he died.

The death of President Harrison, at the very beginning of his administration, produced a shock throughout the Nation where he was revered and loved by all. So sudden was it that his wife, who had remained at North Bend, was unable to be present during his last hours. His remains were interred in the Congressional cemetery at Washington, whence, some years later, at the request of his family, they were removed and deposited in the burial ground at North Bend.

A. R. WILDMAN.

EDITORIAL AND HISTORICAL NOTES.

It is probably safe to say no portion of the territory included in the United States of America has so interesting a history as that which lies between the Alleghany mountains on the east, the Mississippi river on the west, the lakes, Superior, Huron and Erie, on the north, and the Gulf of Mexico on the south. This history, though covering a recent period, abounds in striking episodes, whose accurate recital must ever charm the earnest student. In ignorance of its marvelous wealth of resource—its boundless stretch of primeval woodland and prairie, its mighty rivers, its millions of mineral treasure hidden beneath its broad expanse—it was flung away by English monarchs in lavish grants, as of no value either to the grantor or grantee. As its value became more apparent, contesting claimants for its possession appeared. The subjects of Spain had discovered the Mississippi, and that nation laid claim to a territorial empire. England had colonized a narrow strip of land along the Atlantic seaboard, and maintained the right to a boundless territory. France sent forth from Canada at the north a band of daring explorers, who traversed the vast wilderness from the lakes to the gulf, and by virtue thereof claimed all American territory between the Alleghany and the Rocky mountains, and from Mexico to the north pole. Thus, when the value of the North-west came to be accurately known, the great nations of Europe began to eagerly covet the prize.

In the course of time English traders, eager for gain, scaled the Alleghanies, and penetrated the deep forests beyond to exchange with the red-men trinkets and money for furs and peltry. The account these first English explorers brought back to their brethren on the Atlantic seaboard filled them with astonishment, and incited many to like undertakings. They pushed their way through majestic forests to the valley of the upper Ohio to barter with the Delawares, the Wyandots, the Shawannces, the Iroquois and the Ottawas; to the waters of the Miami and Wabash, where dwelt the Miamis and their kindred tribes; and still farther west towards the Mississippi, where roamed the remnants of the once powerful Illinois. With all these tribes the English trader sought to establish friendly relations.

The first of these bold and hardy men made his appearance in the Ohio country, possibly as early as 1654. In that year a certain Colonel Wood is said to have extended his travels westward as far as the country now embraced within the State boundaries of Kentucky. In the century following these adventurous men had pushed their way as far west as

the Mississippi, and had established trading points at every important Indian village. In 1745 they built a block-house among the Hurons, on the north side of Sandusky bay. In 1750 Thomas Walker is known to have penetrated to the very centre of what is now the State of Kentucky. In 1748 the Colonial Ohio company was organized by eminent citizens of Virginia, among whom were Thomas Lee, Lawrence and Augustine Washington. A grant of 500,000 acres of land had been obtained from the crown, lying mostly south of the Ohio river, and in 1751 the company's agent, Christopher Gist, visited Shawneetown at the mouth of the Scioto, now Portsmouth, Ohio, an Indian village at that time of some three hundred people. He found there many Indian traders. In 1752 Lewis Evans published a map of the western country. About three hundred of these daring men are said to have come over the mountains every year. Some of them, according to French writers of this period, had even crossed the Mississippi to trade with the distant Osages.

What sort of men were these members of the advance guard, or scouting party, of the army of western pioneers soon to follow? They were certainly bold and enterprising, or they could never have braved the dangers they heroically faced. They came from Virginia and Pennsylvania, chiefly from the latter colony. Mr. Parkman says of them:

Indian traders of whatever nation are rarely models of virtue, and these, without doubt, were rough and lawless men, with abundant blackguardism and few scruples. Not all of them, however, are to be thus qualified. Some were of a better stamp, among

whom were Christopher Gist, William Trent and George Croghan. These and other chief traders hired men on the frontiers, crossed the Alleghanies with goods packed on the backs of horses, descended into the valley of the Ohio, and journeyed from stream to stream and village to village along the Indian trails, with which all this wilderness was seamed, and which the traders widened to make them practicable. More rarely, they carried their goods on horses to the upper waters of the Ohio and embarked them in large wooden canoes, in which they descended the main river and ascended such of its tributaries as were navigable.

France became alarmed. These encroachments of the English traders and land speculators upon the domain which for seventy years she had claimed as hers by right of discovery and occupancy, were not to be permitted. The English must be pushed back beyond the mountains and confined within narrow limits, or else all that had been gained by the explorations of Nicollet, Jogues and Rymbault; of Ménard and Allouez; of La Salle, Tonty and Joliet; of St. Luson and Nicolas Perrot; of Hennepin and Du Luht, would be lost. These explorations began as early as the year 1639, full fifteen years before the first English trader crossed the Alleghanies, and nearly 120 years before war was declared between the two powers; and yet France had done little to make good her title to the disputed territory. What she had done was to establish a few weak forts at long distances—one on the Maumee, another on the St. Joseph, two on the Wabash, and one other, Fort Chartres, in the Illinois country. There were, in 1749, seventy or eighty houses at Kaskaskia, half as many at Cahokia, opposite St. Louis. With the Indians they had failed to perfect ties of friendship, and upon the eve of war most of the savage

tribes were found to be the allies of the English.

At the time when English colonists were crossing the Alleghanies, and pouring into the Ohio valley in the largest numbers, 1749-52, Galissonière was governor of Canada. He was a humpback, but a man of keen mind and intrepid spirit. He foresaw the loss to France of the Mississippi valley and Louisiana if the intruders were not forced back beyond the mountains and the friendship of the Indians regained. A chain of strong forts ex-

tending from Canada to the Gulf of Mexico must be built, and firm alliances with the Indians established. These plans led to the expedition of Céloron de Bienville in 1749.

NOTICE TO SUBSCRIBERS. — The first edition of the December number of the Magazine has been exhausted, and the publisher is at present unable to supply that number. However, a second edition will soon be printed, and all who are entitled to it will in due time receive it.

CORRESPONDENCE.

To the Editor of the MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY:

MY DEAR SIR:—In my article on "The Battle of the Peninsula," elsewhere published in this number of your Magazine, I have made some statements which further examination of the facts proves to be incomplete and, in some respects, inaccurate. I wish to say: (1) In regard to the military organization of the Reserve, that it was, in 1812, included in General Wadsworth's division. The counties of Trumbull and Ashtabula constituted the Third Brigade, under Brigadier-General Simon Perkins; the counties of Portage, Geauga and Cuyahoga, the Fourth Brigade, under Brigadier-General Joel Paine. It is said the first news of Hull's surrender reached General Wadsworth at Canfield, August 22, and he immediately ordered his division to rendezvous at Cleveland. (2) In regard to the stockade at Lower Sandusky I would like to have said: The first armed demonstration at Lower Sandusky was made by Captain John Campbell, of Portage, who, with his company, reached that point July 14, when he was joined by a company under Captain Norton, from Delaware county. They erected a small stockade at that point. (3) In my article I speak of Bull's Island. It is now known as Johnson's Island. (4) Instead of Colonel Hayes, I should have said Lieutenant-Colonel Hayes.

A. G. RIDDLE.

Washington, D. C., Feb. 25, 1885.

CLEVELAND, January 30, 1885.

MR. EDITOR:

I wish you would allow me to correct an error as to the population of the city of Cleveland, which inadvertently occurred in copying my manuscript sketch of General Moses Cleaveland, as published in your MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY, No. 3, January, 1885, page 176. The statement of population, instead of reading as given, should read "nearly a quarter million."

Yours, &c.,

HARVEY RICE.

To the Editor of THE MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY:

PRESIDENT JEFFERSON'S INAUGURATION.

Very much has at different times been said about the simplicity of the ceremonial on the occasion of the inauguration of Mr. Jefferson as President, in March, 1801, when he rode up alone to the Capitol on horseback, threw his reins over the palings, tied his horse, walked up to the Senate chamber and took the oath of office. The proceeding was of course in accord with the simplicity of Mr. Jefferson's character, and may have been in part intended to accentuate the accession to power of the Republican party and its triumph over the more aristocratic

Federalists. But a consideration of the circumstances in Washington just at that time will show that any very elaborate preparation or ceremonial then was altogether out of the question.

The contest in the House of Representatives over the electoral vote for President in February of that year was very heated. Passions ran even higher than under similar circumstances in 1876. The fortunes of the party which had been in power since the foundation of the government, and which had the honored name of Washington associated with it, was in such jeopardy that any one of ten individuals in the House of Representatives could by changing his vote alter the entire issue. Up to the seventeenth of February, a fortnight before the expiration of the existing administration, no conclusion had been reached. All sorts of expedients were being proposed for the continuance of the government, in case the dead-lock should be prolonged. A convention was even proposed to reorganize the government and amend the constitution (Jefferson's Works, IV., p. 354). There were only a few days therefore between the time of the declaration of Jefferson's election and the day of the inauguration, and probably in the slow means of communication then some parts of the country were not informed as to who was the President until days after the installation. There was no time, therefore, under such circumstances, for any elaborate ceremonial.

Moreover, the city of Washington was a very different place then from what it is now. It was a simple, rude village. The streets abounded in quagmires, and along them no procession was possible. It was only in the previous November, not three months before, that President Adams had reached Washington and removed into the White House. It was not yet finished. On the twenty-first of November, Mrs. Adams writes that in the journey over from Baltimore to Washington, a few days before, they lost themselves in the woods, and wandered two hours without finding a guide or the path. She says that bells are wholly wanting in the house; and that while the house is surrounded with forests, no one can be found to cut and cart any wood. Not a single room was finished, nor the least fence or yard or other convenience without, and the great, unfinished audience (now East) room she made a drying room to hang up clothes in. She had not a twentieth part of lamps to light the house; and the roads were such that it was the work of a day to return a single visit in the city.—(Letter of Mrs. Adams, p. 384).

These facts, kept in mind, will go far towards ex-

plaining the very scant ceremonial used on the occasion.

C. F. R.

ST. LOUIS, February, 1885.

TOLEDO, OHIO, February 25, 1885.

To the Editor of the MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY.

DEAR SIR: A good deal of interest, for local reasons, has arisen in this region with regard to the origin of the word Yondota. Is or is it not a French corruption of Wyandotte? I should be greatly obliged if, through the offices of your valuable journal, a satisfactory answer could be found for this question.

Respectfully,

F. D. JERMAIN.

To the Editor of the MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY:

DEAR SIR:—I herewith enclose the following correspondence relating to Lord Dunmore's expedition to the Ohio country in 1774, which I think will interest your readers:

REPORT OF LORD DUNMORE.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES, }
LONDON, November 17, 1884. }

SIR:

I am directed by the minister to acknowledge the reception of your letter of the twenty-sixth ultimo, and to acquaint you that he immediately caused inquiry to be made at the public record office respecting the report for which you ask.

I enclose herewith a copy of the answer which has just been received, and by which you will see that no such report can be found, with an abstract from the State papers bearing upon the subject.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

HENRY WHITE.

Asst. Secretary of Legation.

CHARLES WHITTLESEY, ESQ.

1305 Euclid Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio.

ENCLOSURES:

Mr. Lainsbury to Mr. White, November 12, 1884.

(Copy.) PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE, }
November 12, 1884. }

To HENRY WHITE, ESQ.,
Secretary of Legation.

DEAR SIR:

In reply to your letter of the tenth inst., in reference to a report of the adjutant of Lord Dunmore's expedition against the Indians (with enclosures herewith returned) I have to inform you that I have

made a careful search through our Colonial State Papers, but do not find that any such report was enclosed by Governor Lord Dunmore in his despatch of December 24, 1774, to Secretary Lord Dartmouth, wherein the governor of Virginia himself reports the success of his expedition against the Indians. I have the pleasure to enclose an extract from said report, from which it will be seen that Lord Dunmore does not enclose any other report of the action of the tenth of October, 1774.

Your obed't servant,

H. NOEL.

State Papers, Colonial Series, American and West Indies, Vol 213:

(No. 23.)

WILLIAMSBURG, December 24, 1774.

Governor the Earl of Dunmore, to Secretary the Earl of Dartmouth:

I determined, therefore, to go down the Ohio; but I thought it prudent to take a force which might effect our purpose if our negotiations failed, and I collected from the militia of the neighboring counties about twelve hundred men to take with me, sending orders to a Colonel Lewis to march with as many more of the militia of the southern counties across the country, to join me at the mouth of the Little Kanawha, the place I appointed to meet the Indians at. I passed down this river with this body of men, and arrived at the appointed place at the stated time. The day after, some of our friends, the Delawares, arrived according to their promise, but they brought us the disagreeable information that the Shawanoes would listen to no terms, and were resolved to prosecute their designs against the people of Virginia. The Delawares, notwithstanding, remained steady in their attachment; and their chief, Captain White Eyes, offered me the assistance of himself and whole tribe; but apprehending evil effects from the jealousy of, and natural dislike in our people to all Indians, I accepted only of him and two or three others, and I received great service from the faithfulness, the firmness and remarkable good understanding of White Eyes.

Colonel Lewis not joining me and being unwilling to increase the expense of the country by delay, and from the accounts we had of the numbers of the Indians, judging the force I had with me sufficient to defeat them and destroy their towns in case they should refuse the offers of peace, and, after sending orders to follow me to a place I appointed near the Indian settlements, I crossed the Ohio and proceeded to the Shawanoe towns, in which march one of our detached parties encountered another body of Indians lying in ambush, of whom they killed six or eight and took sixteen prisoners. When we came up to the towns we found them deserted, and that the main body of Indians, to the amount of nearly five hundred, had some time before gone off towards the Ohio, and we soon learnt that they had crossed that river near the mouth of the Great Kanawha, with the design of attacking the corps under Colonel

Lewis. In effect this body, in their route to join me, was encamped within a mile of the conflux of these two rivers, and near the place where the Indians crossed, who were discovered by two men, one of whom they killed, of Colonel Lewis' corps, at break of day the tenth of October. Colonel Lewis, upon receiving intelligence of their being advanced to within half a mile of his camp, ordered out three hundred men in two divisions, who, upon their approach, were immediately attacked by the Indians, and a very warm engagement ensued. Colonel Lewis found it necessary to reinforce the divisions first sent out, which (without the main body of the corps having engaged) obliged the Indians to retire after an action which lasted till about one o'clock in the afternoon and a little skirmishing till night, under the favor of which the Indians repassed the river and escaped. Colonel Lewis lost on his side his brother and two other colonels of militia, men of character and some condition in their countries, and forty-six men killed and about eighty men wounded. The loss of the Indians, by their accounts, amounted to about thirty killed and some wounded. The event of this action proving very different from what the Indians had promised themselves, they at once resolved to make no farther efforts against a power they saw so far superior to theirs, but determined to throw themselves upon our mercy, and, with the greatest expedition, they came in search of the body with which they knew I marched, and found me near their own town the day after I got there. They presently made known their intentions, and I admitted them to a conference, wherein all our differences were settled. The terms of our reconciliation were, briefly, that the Indians should deliver up all prisoners without reserve; that they should restore all horses and other valuable effects which they had carried off; that they should not hunt on our side of the Ohio, nor molest any boats passing thereupon; that they should promise to agree to such regulations for their trade with our people as should be hereafter dictated by the king's instructions, and that they should deliver into our hands certain hostages, to be kept by us until we were convinced of their sincere intention to adhere to all the articles. The Indians finding, contrary to their expectations, no punishment likely to follow, agreed to everything with the greatest alacrity, and gave the most solemn assurance of their quiet and peaceable deportment in the future; and in return I gave them every promise of protection and good treatment on our side.

NOTE.—When Lord Dunmore went on board of the man-of-war, in the James River, to escape from the colonies, he probably took his papers to England. They have not been found in Virginia. The above reliable extract brings to light new historical facts, among others that the rendezvous of the two columns was to be at the mouth of Little Kanawha, now Parkersburg, West Virginia, and not at the Great Kanawha (Point Pleasant), where the engagement took place. The expedition to the Scioto towns was an after consideration.

CHARLES WHITTLESLEY.

HISTORICAL AND PIONEER SOCIETIES.

CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—A quarterly meeting of this Society, was held January 20, 1884. Hon. E. B. Washburne, the president, occupied the chair.

Hon. Mark Skinner announced the death of Rev. William Barry, the founder of the Society in 1856, and he submitted eulogistic resolutions on the life and character of the deceased. The resolutions were adopted and a request was made that a portrait of Mr. Barry, in oil, be procured and placed in the hall of the Society.

A resolution was also adopted asking Ezra B. McCogg, Esq., an old-time friend of Mr. Barry, to prepare and deliver at some future meeting of the Society, a biographical memoir of the deceased.

Mr. W. K. Ackerman offered a memorial tribute to the memory of the late Judge Joseph Gillespie, of Edwardsville, Ill., a corresponding member of the Society, which was accepted and ordered to be placed on the Society's records.

Hon. William Bross read a memorial notice of the late Thomas H. Armstrong, the secretary and librarian of the Society from 1866 to 1869, which was adopted and placed upon the records of the Society.

Hon. A. H. Burley, one of the trustees of the Henry D. Gilpin fund, made a report showing the whole amount received from the estate, since 1874, to be \$49,527.21, and the total amount now on hand, including accumulated interest, \$67,766.34.

On motion of Judge Skinner, the portraits of Isaac N. Arnold and Thomas Hoyne, president and vice-president of the Society, were asked for to be hung upon the walls of the Society's hall.

THE CHAUTAUQUA SOCIETY OF HISTORY AND NATURAL SCIENCES held its semi-annual meeting at Jamestown, January 29. In the absence of the president, Mr. S. G. Love, the vice-president, Mr. W. C. J. Hall, presided. Valuable papers were presented, as follows:

J. L. Bugbee, "Pioneer Homes," a paper descriptive of the method of construction, the material used, the indoor appointment, etc., of the log cabins of the early settlers—a valuable paper.

J. M. Edson, Jr., read a thoughtful paper on "The Birds of Chautauqua County."

Dr. Waterhouse gave a series of microscopic illustrations, which were extremely interesting.

At the evening session Judge Daniel Sherman, who in an official capacity has been brought in close contact with the Indian, and has had exceptionally good opportunities for studying his character, read a most interesting and comprehensive paper on "The Six Nations."

W. W. Henderson, the secretary of the Society, presented a brief but well considered paper upon "The Beaver," replete with valuable information.

Mr. McKinstry contributed two interesting revolutionary incidents; one communicated to him several years since by an old resident of Pomfret, William Wood, once when a lad a member of the body guard of Washington at Newburg; a personal reminiscence of Mrs. Washington, testifying to her general kindly bearing toward the soldiery. The other was an interview with Gardner Cleveland, of Clymer, in 1841. Mr. Cleveland was a revolutionary soldier under Baron Steuben, and told many amusing anecdotes of the old Prussian, speaking of the baron's method of selecting men for any hazardous undertaking. He said size and form were not taken into account. The men were required to file slowly before him and look him squarely in the eye. If they could thus meet his steady, piercing look without quailing he judged them sufficiently courageous. Mr. Cleveland had seen large burly men set aside, while those much smaller in stature would be chosen.

The officers of this Society are as follows: A. G. Love, president; W. C. J. Hall, vice-president; W. W. Henderson, secretary.

THE KANSAS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—This Society held its ninth annual meeting January 20, in the rooms of the Society, in the west end of the capital building. The following gentlemen were present: Chas. Robinson, Lawrence; J. S. Emery, Lawrence; Milton Reynolds, Lawrence; John Francis, Topeka; S. A. Kingman, Topeka; B. F. Simpson, Paola;

Edward Russell, Lawrence; D. W. Wilder, Hiawatha; Sol. Miller, Troy; R. Atkinson, Ottawa; J. B. Abbott, Johnson county; Prof. Mohler, Osborn county; George W. Martin, Junction City; Ed. Carroll, Leavenworth; S. N. Wood, Topeka; T. D. Thacher, Topeka; P. I. Bonebrake, Topeka. The president, Mr. F. P. Baker, presided over the deliberations of the meeting. The following gentlemen were elected corresponding members: Rev. C. D. Bradlee, Brookline, Mass.; Fred Law Olmstead, Brookline, Mass.; Geo. W. Brown, Rockford, Ill.; Jno. B. Dunbar, Bloomfield, N. J.; Rev. C. F. Robertson, St. Louis, Mo.; Henry T. Drowne, New York City; Ed. A. Lorenz, West Point, N. Y.; J. O. Austin, Providence, R. I.; Henry Ward Beecher, Brooklyn; Thomas Ewing, Cincinnati; R. G. Ingersoll, Washington, D. C.

The bound volumes added to the library during the two years ending January 20, 1885, are 1,070; unbound volumes and pamphlets, 3,719; volumes of newspapers and periodicals, 1,107; single newspapers and newspaper cuttings containing special historical material, 500; posters, cards, etc., 121; maps, 44; atlases, 3; manuscripts, 7,018; pictures, 143; miscellaneous relics, 169; scrip, currency, etc., 102. From this statement it will be seen that the library additions during the two years, of books, pamphlets and newspaper files, number 5,866 volumes. Of these, 5,480 have been procured by gift and 416 by purchase. The total of the library at the present time is as follows, namely: 5,523 bound volumes; 10,936 unbound volumes; 3,632 bound newspaper files and periodicals, in all 20,118 volumes. These volumes are in much the larger part either of Kansas publications or those relating to the western country, or are public documents and scientific publications of the government, and all contain historical, documentary or scientific information of permanent value.

The Society has secured the celebrated cannon known as "old Kickapoo," a relic that is connected with the most stirring incidents of our early history. It was brought to Kansas from Missouri by the Pro-Slavery party, and was presented at the sacking of Lawrence, May 21, 1856. It was subsequently kept at Kickapoo, in Leavenworth county, in the care of the Kickapoo Rangers. It was present at the polls at that place, to influence the vote at the election under the Lecompton Constitution of January 4, 1858, but a night or two after that it was captured by Free State men from Leavenworth. After that it remained for a time in concealment at Leavenworth and Lawrence. Subsequently it remained in the

care of the Turner's Society at Leavenworth, during which time it was bursted in some operation in the bottom of the Leavenworth coal shaft. From Leavenworth it was brought to Topeka by the Society.

The following are the officers of the Society for 1885: D. R. Anthony, Leavenworth, president; B. F. Simpson, Paola, first vice-president; S. N. Wood, Topeka, second vice-president; F. G. Adams, Topeka, secretary; John Frances, Topeka, treasurer.

THE WYOMING HISTORICAL AND GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY.—The twenty-seventh annual meeting of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society was held February 11, 1885, at Wilkes Barre, Judge Dana presiding. Among others present were H. Wright, S. Reynolds, A. H. McClintock, W. P. Ryman, Rev. H. E. Hayden, Geo. B. Kulp, Calvin Parsons, Rev. H. L. Jones, Hon. C. A. Miner, Oliver Hillard, Dr. O. F. Harvey, L. C. Paine, G. M. Lewis, J. G. Wood, Geo. Loveland.

The annual election resulted as follows: Trustees, Dr. Charles F. Ingham, Edward P. Darling, Ralph D. Lacoe, Sheldon Reynolds, Harrison Wright; President, Hon. E. L. Dana; Vice Presidents, Dr. C. F. Ingham, Rev. H. L. Jones, Captain Calvin Parsons, Hon. Eckley B. Cox; Recording Secretary, Harrison Wright; Corresponding Secretary, Sheldon Reynolds; Treasurer, A. F. Derr; Librarian, G. Mortimer Lewis; Assistant Librarian, A. H. McClintock; Curators—S. Reynolds, archaeology; Rev. H. E. Hayden, numismatics; Dr. H. Wright, mineralogy; R. D. Lacoe, paleontology; Dr. C. F. Ingham, conchology; Meteorologist, Hon. E. L. Dana; Historiographer, George B. Kulp.

The library has increased 1,236 during the year, besides work preliminary to the preparation of a card catalogue. The library needs more room, more pamphlet cases, and more personal work by members.

Rev. Mr. Hayden furnished a detailed summary of the 7,285 coins owned by the Society. Mr. Reynolds reported on the work which had been done in the upper Susquehanna valley. There are now in the cabinet 22 grooved stone axes, 15 tomahawks, 25 celts, 43 skinning knives, 77 chipped flint knives, 59 perforators, 25 scrapers, 25 pestles, 12 prehistoric earthen vessels, 135 net sinkers, 155 spear heads, 2,400 arrowpoints, 5 flint daggers, 17 grooved stone club heads, 20 pipes, 25 totems, 52 hand hammers, 2 strings wampum, 4 paleolithic implements, besides lapstones, crushers, hoe blades, plummets, discoidal

stones, banner stones, contents of mounds, and many other articles that would unduly extend this list.

Calvin Parsons gave an interesting impromptu sketch of Old Laurel Run, and on motion he was invited to prepare a paper. Hon. Charles A. Miner was invited to prepare a paper on the "Old Mills of Wyoming Valley."

Judge Dana congratulated the Society, which he had known from its inception, on its prosperous condition and its promise of a bright and useful future.

MEMORIAL AND HISTORY OF THE WESTERN LIBRARY ASSOCIATION.

The Western Library Association, or as it is sometimes, in half derision, called in later years, the "Coonskin Library," began to exist in what is now Ames township, in Athens county. It was originated and provision made for the purchase of books in 1801, but the first installment of books was not procured till 1803, when the Association was duly formulated and the stock taken by the members. There was great difficulty in procuring funds with which to purchase the books. "Some of the settlers," says the author of 'Walker's History of Athens County,' "were good hunters, and there being a ready market for furs and skins, which were bought by the agents of John Jacob Astor and others, these easily paid their subscriptions. Mr. Samuel Brown, who was soon to make a trip to Boston in a wagon, would take the furs and skins intended for the purchase of books, and bring back the books in return. His trip was unavoidably delayed longer than he expected, but in the summer of 1803 he went to Boston with the furs, etc., with which he purchased the first installment of books. These books cost seventy-three dollars and fifty cents, and comprised the following: 'Robertson's North America,' 'Harris' Encyclopædia,' four volumes; 'Morse's Geography,' two volumes; 'Adams' Truth of Religion,' 'Goldsmith's Works,' four volumes; 'Evelina,' two volumes; 'Children of the Abbey,' two volumes; 'Blair's Lectures,' 'Clark's Discourses,' 'Ramsey's American Revolution,' two volumes; 'Goldsmith's Animated Nature,' four volumes; 'Playfair's History of Jacobinism,' two volumes; 'George Barnwell,' 'Camilla,' three volumes; 'Beggart Girl,' three volumes, and some others. Later purchases included 'Shakespeare,' 'Don Quixote,' 'Lock's Essays,' 'Scottish Chiefs,' 'Josephus,' 'Smith's Wealth of Nations,' 'Spectator,' 'Plutarch's Lives,' 'Arabian Nights,' 'Life of Washington,' etc.

On the second of February, 1804, at the house of Christopher Herrold, articles of association were regularly entered into for the government of the Library Association. The amount of a share was fixed at two dollars and fifty cents, and the owner was required to pay in for the use of the library twenty-five cents additional every year on each share. The names of the subscribers to the articles of association, with the number of shares taken by each, were as follows: Ephraim Cutler, four shares; Jason Rice, two; Silvanus Ames, two; Benjamin L. Brown, one; Martin Boyles, one; Ezra Green, one; George Ewing, one; John Brown, Jr., one; Josiah True, one; George Ewing, Jr., one; Daniel Weethee, two; Timothy Wilkins, two; Benjamin Brown, one; Samuel Brown, 2d, one; Samuel Brown, Sr., one; Simon Converse, one; Christopher Herrold, one; Edmund Dorr, one; George Wolf, one; Nathan Woodbury, one; Joshua Wyatt, one; George Walker, one; Elijah Hatch, one; Zebulon Griffin, one; Jehiel Gregory, one; George Castle, one; Samuel Brown, one. Among the subscribers in later years appear the names of Ezra Walker, Othniel Nye, Sally Rice, Lucy Ames, John M. Hibbard, Seth Child, Ebenezer Champlin, Amos Linscott, Elisha Lattimer, Nehemiah Gregory, Thomas Ewing, Jason Rice, Cyrus Tuttle, Pearly Brown, Robert Fulton, R. S. Lovell, Michael Tippie and James Pugsley.

The library has long since ceased to exist as such, and has been succeeded by other more modern sources of information. The charter of the Association, granted by the Ohio legislature in 1810, has expired by non-user. The books had accumulated to several hundred volumes—a considerable library for the place and period. Many years later it was divided and part taken to Dover township (where some of the original stockholders lived), where it formed the nucleus of another library, which was incorporated by act of the legislature, passed December 21, 1830. The portion retained in Ames township was sold by the shareholders, in the year 1860 or 1861, to Messrs. J. H. Glazier, A. W. Glazier and E. H. Brawley, and they afterwards sold it to Hon. W. P. Cutler, of Washington county.

It is to be hoped that an effort may be made to redeem these old historic books, such of them as can be found, and place them in proper form in some secure public place. The worm-eaten and dilapidated volumes are intrinsically of little value, but they are priceless as mementos of the past. Who would not desire to see the identical volumes read and re-read by Thomas Ewing, Bishop Ames, and

their associates, and from which they formed their style, and from which they drew their first inspirations? The marks of their fingers and their notations in the margin are still to be seen upon them. The eyes that scanned them and the hands that turned their pages are mouldering in the dust, but memory can recall them in all their youthful vigor and life. Let the effort be made.

The simple history of this unpretending Library Association is sufficient to challenge the admiration and homage of every true American. It was one of the springs which have made up the great ocean of our State and national prosperity. These pioneers came to their chosen place of abode full of the spirit of the Declaration of Independence, of the Ordinance of 1787 and of the Constitution, which embodied them both. Their descendants are now counted by the hundreds, and are to be found in almost all parts of the country, and especially in the States of the Northwest Territory. Their proselytes—if that term may be so applied—can be counted by the thousands; and no human arithmetic can correctly estimate the influence they may have exerted in shaping the destiny of the country. We are told that "every natural fact is a symbol of some spiritual fact, and, that as motion is propagated throughout all space and endures through all time, so each action of the mind of man affects the spiritual universe;" that "thus the spirit of the age is the sum of individual thoughts, and that each man is to some extent the product of all the preceding ages of the race." If this be true, what an incentive to virtue and the advancement of knowledge! The subjects of this memorial seem to have believed in its truth. They stand before the world as men and women who lived for others, and not for themselves. They made duty their supreme rule of action and the love of duty their governing motive. They lived for the future rather than for the present. They trampled their own selfish propensities under foot, and made of them stepping-stones to a higher and nobler life. They were self-sacrificing, conscientious men,

" * * * * * combating
Because they *ought* to combat :
Conscious that to find in martyrdom
The stamp and signet of a *noble life*
Is all the science that mankind can reach."

It is to such men that the world is debtor for whatever is truly good and great in human affairs, and to such that we must look for our upward march in the future. The lives of these patriots is a lesson—a lesson that cannot be studied without profit. They

teach us not to despise the day of small things. They teach us simplicity of life and the honorableness of labor, and are, in these respects, in startling contrast with the luxury and extravagance of the present age. But above all, they teach us the value of a life well spent. Their lives, like the lives of all good men, remind us :

" We can make our lives sublime,
And departing leave behind us
Footprints on the sands of time."

This library is one of the footprints of these pioneers.

It will hardly be considered invidious to single out the names of some of the more prominent among these men, and speak of them individually. In doing so, however, it must be said that, with no great number of exceptions, they were all men of high character for intelligence, morality and patriotism, and that many of them were distinguished by civil and military services in the country.

George Ewing was a native of Salem, New Jersey. He entered the Continental army at the beginning of the Revolutionary war, and served with credit as lieutenant during its whole course. He was the father of the late Hon. Thomas Ewing, the eminent jurist and statesman, who stood at the head of the Ohio bar for half a century, and who made his mark in the Senate of the United States and in the Cabinet.

Silvanus Ames was the father of the late Bishop Ames, a magnate and ardent worker in that church, the Methodist Episcopal, which has, perhaps, done more to promote civilization and morality in the pioneer settlements of the northwest than any other agency whatever.

Benjamin Brown was a captain in the army of the Revolution; was engaged in the battle of Bunker's Hill, and served in the army to the end of the war. He was the father of Hon. A. G. Brown, of Athens, a graduate of the Ohio University, now in his eighty-fifth year, late a Judge of the Court of Common Pleas and a member of the convention which framed the present Constitution of Ohio. Benjamin Brown was also the father of the late General John Brown, for many years a prominent citizen of Athens, who died March 29, 1876, in his ninety-first year, respected and beloved by all who knew him.

But a new phase of the history of this library is opened up when we come to mention the name of Ephraim Cutler, who seems to have been the owner of most of the land on which the settlement was made, and to have been a leading spirit in the enterprise. He was a member of the convention which

framed the Ohio Constitution of 1802, and his son, the present William P. Cutler, of Marietta, was a member of the convention which framed our present Ohio Constitution.

Ephraim Cutler was the son of Dr. Manasseh Cutler, of Ipswich, Massachusetts, a leading spirit among the originators of the Ordinance of 1787 for the government of the Northwest Territory, and of the Ohio Company, which purchased this part of the territory. No history of the Amestown library, or of any other library in the northwest, would be complete without something of the history of Dr. Manasseh Cutler. The very mention of his name carries the real history of the library back to a period antedating the Ordinance of 1787, and the Constitution of the United States. The Library Association was but an outgrowth of that ordinance—a step taken to carry its wise and beneficial purposes into execution. That ordinance, the cession by Virginia, the purchase by the Ohio Company, and the formation in the territories of libraries like this, are *one* in spirit and conception equally as Pharaoh's dreams were one. They all had their real birth in the wise and prophetic minds of a small group of philanthropists of New England and New Jersey, and a central figure in that group was Dr. Manasseh Cutler. If it be true that Jefferson wrote the Ordinance of 1787, which is denied, it is equally true, figuratively speaking, that Manasseh Cutler and his coadjutors guided his hand while he wrote. Whoever wrote it was the mere amanuensis, as it were, of Manasseh Cutler. It was, in a moral sense, his work, written, reported by the committee and adopted by the Continental Congress, under his inspiration and influence.

Manasseh Cutler has justly been called "the father of the Ohio Company," and "the father of the Ohio University;" and it is a mere enlargement of the thought to call him "the father of the Ordinance of 1787." The ordinance was adopted on the thirteenth of July, 1787, and the grant to the Ohio Company was made on the twenty-seventh of the same month.

The essential and efficient elements of the ordinance are contained in the single provision: "Religion, morality and knowledge being essential to good government and the happiness of mankind, *schools and the means of instruction* shall forever be encouraged." In this single provision is embodied the true foundation of national greatness. No wonder that our march of empire since 1787 has been westward. It is because we have marched under this banner. Here is the germ of the riches, the intelligence, and the rapid growth of the great northwest, nay, of the

whole country. It is to the authors of this wise and far-reaching provision that these northwestern States, and especially our own Ohio, are indebted for whatever is high and noble in the character of their people, valuable in their surroundings, or bright and promising in the future that awaits them. Our humble little library was but *one* of the early outgrowths from this provision of the Ordinance—a small stream from this beneficent fountain. So was the Ohio University, in whose charter is embodied a copy of this provision, and whose endowment, by a grant of two townships of land, was provided for in the purchase of the Ohio Company, which, as has been shown, immediately followed the adoption of the ordinance. That ordinance is the legitimate parent of our common school system, which has been in force in Ohio ever since 1825, constantly growing in usefulness and in public estimation, and constantly extending itself into the surrounding States. Under the magic of this ordinance, the State of Ohio has been covered over with common schools, high schools, academies, colleges and public and private libraries.

The State of Ohio has faithfully obeyed the behest of this ordinance. She has at all times made education a primary object of legislation. The result is seen in the high stand which the State now maintains. She has produced a class of men and women of whom no State need be ashamed. She has built fifty thousand school-houses, and has expended two hundred millions of public money in common school education. She has built more than ten thousand churches, and has organized and put in successful operation numerous academies, colleges and libraries, which are scattered all over the State, and which bring instruction to the doors of the people. Since 1802 the State has added nearly three millions to her population, besides studding the newer States and territories with her emigrants. Within that period she has redeemed twenty-two million acres of land from the wilderness, and converted them into farms, gardens, villages and cities. She has constructed a thorough system of canals, nine hundred and seventy-six miles in length, traversing the State in nearly all directions, and these canals, having served their day and purpose, have been superseded by seven thousand miles of railroads, which bring commerce and travel almost to every man's door. All this has been accomplished within a life-time. Men are still alive who aided in its beginnings, and who are now witnesses of the fact that the results have out-run the expectations of the most sanguine.

An indispensable element in any complete system

of education is the library. It reaches the adult as well as the minor. It is a cheap method of instruction, and available at times and places where other modes are impracticable.

The history of the library, which is the subject of this memorial, is an instance and a standing proof of the value of that method. The light of that library has shone all around it and is still shining. The traces of its influence are visible in the surrounding community, and it has to a great extent given tone and character to that community. Its remote causes are still in operation, verifying the saying of the poet, that "Tongues of dead men are not lost," and, that "Thought kindles as it flies."

The multiplication of libraries, lectures and historical and pioneer societies, will always be found to be an evidence of culture—moral as well as intellectual. The civilization of a community can almost as accurately be gauged by these as you can gauge the weather by the thermometer.

On the shelves of a single library in the State of Connecticut, we are told that there were counted *two hundred and forty* volumes and pamphlets, "connected simply with the local history of townships and counties in that State," and that the whole number of such volumes and pamphlets in that library were "vastly greater than that."

There is a wise middle course between the blind and indiscriminate worship of ancestry observed by the Chinese and that total neglect and forgetfulness of the past which characterizes the savage. *Good men* and their good deeds should ever be held up before the eyes of posterity for their reverence and imitation, and the names of *bad men* and their bad deeds should be execrated and forgotten. If this be true, as it surely is, then the Western Library Association and its founders are eminently deserving of a place in the history of the country.

A. G. BROWN.

Athens, Ohio.

THE CENTENNIAL OF THE SETTLEMENT OF OHIO, 1788-1888.

April 7, 1788, a band of pioneers moored their vessel—the "Mayflower"—on the bank of the Muskingum, near its confluence with the Ohio, and here, like the Pilgrim Fathers of 1620, founded the first English settlement in the great northwest. The Marietta settlement is to Ohio what Plymouth is to Massachusetts. April 7, 1888, a centennial celebra-

tion, participated in by every resident of Ohio, should be celebrated. We are glad to inform our readers that a movement is now inaugurated at Columbus, under the auspices of the State Archaeological and Historical Society, that will bring this matter to a successful issue.

That association has prepared, and is now sending to all parts of Ohio, a circular fully explaining its action. The society is desirous of securing the names and addresses of all persons interested in historical questions, and of all societies who may have for their objects the advancement of the antiquarian and civil history of Ohio. All such who apply to Mr. A. A. Graham, secretary of the State society, will receive full information.

The circular issued by the State association says, among other things:

In 1787 was passed the famous ordinance guaranteeing freedom forever to the great northwest, of which Ohio forms an integral part, and which was the first State organized under that "Constitution of Liberty." Younger States in the "territory northwest of the river Ohio" are moving in the matter of a centennial celebration of that important event. Shall not, and should not, Ohio take the lead? One year after this ordinance was passed a band of pioneers came down the Ohio in the "Mayflower," anchored their vessel near the mouth of the Muskingum river, and here, April 7, 1788, was made the first permanent settlement of our State. The centennial of this event will soon occur. Shall not a proper celebration perpetuate its memory?

There will be held in the city of Columbus, in the State Capitol, during the second week of March, beginning Thursday, the twelfth, a convention of all those interested in the history of Ohio, and who may wish to join or co-operate with such an association. We wish to see at this convention representatives from every part of Ohio.

The objects of the association may be briefly outlined as follows:

1. To bring together all those interested in these questions.
2. To hold stated meetings for the advancement of these and kindred subjects by all laudable efforts on its part.
3. To collect and arrange relics, and to publish material relating to the archaeological and civil history of Ohio.
4. To maintain a depository of archaeological and historical relics; to preserve manuscripts, pamphlets, papers, books, paintings, and all other historical material, and to do such other acts as may tend to enhance the study of history.

We are satisfied our readers will take an interest in these questions which are of such vital importance to all. We shall be glad on our part to aid the movement to the extent of our ability.

REVIEWS.

REMINISCENCES OF THE EARLY JUDGES, COURTS AND MEMBERS OF THE BAR OF OHIO. An address before the State Bar Association, Columbus, December 26, 1883. By Hon. Henry B. Curtis. Columbus: Ohio Law Publishing Company, 1884.

Mr. Curtis has attained the ripe age of eighty-five years, and his knowledge of the Ohio bar covers a period of nearly three score years and ten. When a man of his years, experience, wisdom and attainments rises to speak, his auditors listen with breathless interest and attention. Quitting his father's farm in 1817, he served as deputy clerk in the supreme and common pleas courts of Knox county for three years, an excellent preparatory school for a young man destined to the bar. Examined by Judges Hitchcock and Pease, at Newark, Ohio, he was admitted to his chosen profession December 9, 1822. Mr. Curtis retired from the active duties of his profession on the fiftieth anniversary of his admission to the bar, December 9, 1872, on which occasion he gave a reception and supper to his brethren. We quote from these "Reminiscences" as follows:

With the exception of Judge Spalding, of Cleveland, who was admitted, he has told me, in 1816, I believe I am the oldest lawyer in commission at this time in the State. A few, perhaps, are my seniors in years, but came to the profession at a later age.

The judges of the supreme court, at the early period to which I have referred, were Peter Hitchcock, Calvin Pease, Jacob Burnet and Joshua Collett. Each had peculiar and distinctive characteristics. Hitchcock and Burnet were, perhaps, most profound in knowledge of the law, the former of clear conceptions of the justice and equity of the side his convictions led him to espouse, unbending and uncompromising. Hence he was generally regarded as pretty hard on young lawyers. On the other hand, Judge Burnet, with equal learning and discriminating powers in the legal questions presented for his consideration and decision, commended himself to the bar generally for his amiable and courteous manners, and especially to young members, for whose embarrassment in their early efforts he was ever most considerate. Judge Pease was of most jovial temperament, of ready wit, and enjoyed a joke in delivering an opinion from the bench or from the forum. Following the judges above named were Justices Sherman, Wright, Lane, Wood, Spalding and others, whose services seem to me so recent that their characteristics and generous qualities are yet well known and remembered by most of my legal

brethren of the present day, and need not be further mentioned.

My early practice was chiefly limited to the counties of Knox, Licking and Richland; later, embracing other and adjacent counties. It was the custom to follow the courts in their terms for the several counties of their circuit; so that, substantially, the same bar would be in attendance at courts distant from others fifty to one hundred miles. We traveled on horseback, over very bad roads, sometimes mid-leg deep of mud, or underlaid with the traditional "corduroy bridge." Our personal riding gear, the saddle-bags stuffed with a few changes of lighter apparel, often our law books; our legs protected by "spatter-dashes," more commonly called "leggings," and our whole person covered with a camlet, or Scotch plaid cloak; we were prepared to meet whatever weather befel us.

It must not be supposed that because of the rude and primitive character of the civilization of the period, and organization and conduct of the courts, there was any less legal learning or talent on the bench or at the bar than the present period gives. On the contrary, there were among those mentioned, giants of intellect, men of profound learning in the principles of the common law, of great power in oratory and discriminating legal acumen. Many of the older class of the profession had received their education in the eastern schools of learning, and brought with them to our then young State, abilities which had been cultivated under more favored opportunities in the east. Our libraries were small and made up chiefly of English authorities, and our practice and system of pleadings conformed to the common law rules and precedents.

It may well be supposed that meeting together at some favorite "tavern" (such as was the name in those days), the genial members of the profession, coming from different counties, would be likely to greet each other with more than ordinary warmth and delight. We were generally thrown together in one common, large sitting room, and frequently, in a large degree, in a like sleeping room. Thus conversations and amusements would become common through the whole circle. The profession was rather exclusive, and generally protected by the kind landlord from outside intrusion. Hence, returning to our hotel after the quarrels and contests of the court room, and refreshed by a supper now not often seen, we gathered in our big parlor, perhaps around a large, brightly-burning log fire, and were ready for anecdotes, jokes and songs, as the evening and the spirits of the party might invite.

It would be a mistake to suppose that these convivial scenes were inspired by drinking. It is true that to take a cocktail or other glass of liquor was not, in those days, regarded as evidence of inebriety;

yet in all these times of which I speak, with one single unhappy exception, I cannot recall a single instance of drunkenness on these occasions, or excess of indulgence in that vice. At Mount Vernon and Mansfield, songs and stories predominated. Spangler, Goddard and others would hold the older members spell bound with their fine voices in Tom Moore's Melodies, or Orris Parrish wake the echoes, with a chorus from all the voices, in

"The Assyrian came down like a wolf on the fold
And his cohorts were gleaming with purple and gold,"
and other like exhilarating songs.

Speaking of Parrish, I may remark that he was a man of a high order of forensic oratory; more distinguished as a jury lawyer than on a demurrer. In his bursts of eloquence and fervid declamation, he would hold, in most earnest attention, the jury and audience; and woe be to the party against whom he permitted the freedom of his abuse. In one instance at the Mansfield court, when he had the closing speech for a young female client, in a slander case, and his vials of wrath against the defendant being full to overflowing, as his turn approached, he privately requested the presiding judge (we then had associates) on some excuse to leave the bench when he would get into the warmth of his speech. The judge, smiling quietly, assented and, at the proper time, retired from the bench, leaving, for a few moments, the unlearned associates to preside over the proceedings. Parrish took his opportunity, and drawing from his pocket a small pistol, as evidence of his ability to defend himself from any personal assault he might provoke from the sturdy defendant sitting in front of him, he turned from the jury and apostrophized the defendant, addressing him by name and pouring down upon his head and shamed face the most denunciatory anathemas and personal abuse his fertile mind could invent, or the free vocabulary of the English language admit of. This episode was about disposed of when the judge resumed his seat, and the orator closed his speech with one of his grand and felicitous perorations. Lane, J., gave the law of the case to the jury, who, after a short deliberation, returned with a verdict of exemplary damages for the plaintiff.

On one occasion, a little before my admission to the bar, on a cold day in May, in which snow and rain contested for predominance, I accompanied the party of lawyers on their way to the Norwalk court. There were present of the party Charles R. Sherman, William Stanbery, Hosmer Curtis and Samuel Mott. We made Trucksville, a small hamlet twelve miles north of Mansfield, the first day. The little log tavern looked dreary and inhospitable, and we were all very wet and cold. There was a large fireplace in a back sitting room, and a pile of wood near the front door. Some of the party seized the axe and lustily applied themselves to cutting the sticks to suitable lengths, and others to carrying in and building a roaring fire. It will be remembered by some of the older members of the association that Judge Sherman, who was ever the life and animation of whatever company he fell into, had, comparatively, a very long nose. It happened that a stranger guest, who had arrived a little before us, had a like facial characteristic. In the process of passing out, and in

the cheerful labor of building the fire, the two met in the doorway. The stranger, instantly seizing his own nose and turning it to one side, said: "Now you can pass!" None enjoyed the wit of the joke better than Sherman himself. In our journeying the following day, Mott's horse got his foot fast in a "corduroy," and, falling, tumbled the redoubtable "colonel" his full length into the cold, slimy and stagnant water. Completely soaked, he was obliged to stop at a cabin on the wayside to dry off. At Norwalk there was no tavern. We found stables for our horses and a lunch at a rustic table under a temporary shed, improvised for the accommodation of persons attending court from the surrounding country. The court was the first held in Norwalk, then lately chosen as the spot for the county seat. Two Indians were indicted, at this first term, for robbing and killing an old man of the name of Spicer, in the western part of the county's jurisdiction, then extending to the State line. I well remember the stolidity that sat upon the faces of the Indians as Lane, then prosecuting attorney of the county, read the several formal counts of the long indictment, and the same were interpreted to them. They were afterward convicted and hung.

Judge Tod, father of our late war governor, was the presiding judge of the court—a most genial and hilarious gentleman of the old school. At the adjournment of the court the judge, and all the foreign members of the bar, walked about two miles to the comfortable farm-house and home of the Underhills, who hospitably opened their house for the accommodation of "the court," which phrase was always understood to include the lawyers. Whittlesey, Foote, Lee and others from Cleveland, or other parts of the "Reserve;" Cooke, from Sandusky City ("Ogontz"), and some others added to our party, filled the old double-log farm-house pretty full. Beds were improvised on the floor, and with big log fires, our comfort was very well assured. The evenings were spent in characteristic jovial style. To add to the variety, a "charge" was made against Chief Justice "Lee" (as he was called, for almost all the lawyers had a title), and a court was organized for his trial. After hearing the charge and evidence, and sundry arguments of counsel full of wit and fun, the court held the unlucky defendant guilty and assessed the grog against him for the next day.

I was present at the great trial of Jacob Shafer in the Licking common pleas in 1824. The defendant was a man of considerable wealth and of good respectability. He had objected to his neighbor erecting a party fence, claiming that, as being set, it invaded his premises, and, to enforce his objections, brought a gun with him. Words and acts followed, and he shot the man. Shafer was indicted for murder. The counsel employed for the defense were William Stanbery, Thomas Ewing and Philemon Beecher, than whom no abler lawyers could probably have been selected in the State. They were giants at the bar. The case occupied many days, and the arguments for the defense were submitted in the following order: Ewing summed up the evidence in detail, and, in the most clear and logical manner, so presented all the facts as to enforce his deductions

with greatest power. He was followed by Stanbery, who dwelt wholly upon the law of the case, and, in an able speech, distinguished for its force and authority, asserted the justification of the defendant in the act committed; or, at least, his innocence of the crime of murder. General Beecher closed the arguments for the defense by a masterly and eloquent speech, in which he dwelt wholly upon the motives of human actions, deducting from the philosophy of the case and its moral principles the utter absence of intent on the part of the defendant to commit crime. The defendant was convicted of manslaughter. The case was distinguished chiefly for the extraordinary talent it called forth in the defense. At that time Mr. Ewing was just rising in eminence, and his able speech measurably fixed his high position at the bar.

The appointment by the legislature of Charles R. Sherman to the supreme bench, was an event hailed by the bar of Central Ohio with great delight. Few lawyers were ever more beloved by their brethren. His remarkably genial, social temperament, united with a fine voice and a happy talent of speech, had won him an enviable position at the bar, and but for his early death, which occurred in 1829, he would have become equally distinguished as a jurist.

About the same time, perhaps by the same legislature which elevated Sherman to the bench, Thomas Ewing was elected to the United States Senate. How we missed his genial face and noble bearing in all our social bar meetings! Or more especially in the contests and ring of battle in the common pleas courts! In the meantime Henry Stanbery and Hocking Hunter had grown into power; the one as the most accomplished lawyer, at all points, of the age; the other, solid, logical, true.

At one of the early terms of court at Mount Vernon, after Ewing had taken his seat in the senate, in one of our usual hilarious gatherings on the coming together of the scattered members of the bar of our circuit, the conversation naturally turned on Ewing, whose absence alone was sufficient to make him conspicuous to our minds. Some one said: "We must write him a letter." Another said: "Let it be in rhyme, and set Dave Spangler at it." "Very well," said Spangler; "I will try my hand, and the rest of you must help." And so Spangler, the following morning, produced his letter, with sundry additions contributed by Goddard and others; and being signed by all the members of the bar present, was sent to our honorable senator, in token of our common remembrance of him. The following stanzas may be taken as a sample of the whole letter:

"Dear Thomas Ewing, our friend and brother,
In spite of mud and wind and weather,
We all are here, right snug together,
At Plummer's inn,
To talk of scenes bygone forever,
Alas! how soon.

"Old Hosmer Curtis came to town,
Harry and Warden, Hall and Brown;
Stanbery's not here—his wife being down—
And in the straw,
But Hocking Hunter wears his gown,
And pleads the law.

"The cause on hand is one of slander,
The charge—that plaintiff stole a gander,
Which from defendant's barn did wander

To plaintiff's house.
The plaintiff's name is Robert Lander,
Defendant's, Crouse.

"J-e-s-s-e S-e-v-e-r-e is on the jury,
Judge Harper's in a d—l of a fury,
The room's as hot as e'er old Drury
On Garrick's night.
The atmosphere may kill or cure ye,
Stop! here's a fight!"

'THE MONEY-MAKERS.' A social parable. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1885.

The publishers announce that this book is an intended reply to 'The Bread-Winners.' It is difficult to see in what respect it can be said to bear this character. The aim of 'The Bread-Winners' is to describe, for public execration the most odious types of character which may be found allied to the working classes. The chief personages of that story—Miss Matchin, Offit and Bott—are not laboring people, but represent a class who despise all labor and laborers, and who are at war with their environment. Unfit for mental, and despising physical work, they employ their slight equipment of brains and energies in the effort to array the working classes in open and violent hostility to those who represent not capital merely, but law and order. Such mischief makers are the bane of society and the real working-man's worst enemy. What would constitute a reply to a book of this character? Chiefly, to show that, while isolated characters like Miss Matchin may be found among the daughters of workingmen, she in no sense represents them, but is wholly foreign to them; to show that such types of character as are portrayed by Offit and Bott do not exist among workingmen, or, if they do, are not to be classed with the sons of toil, but with loafers, rogues and blacklegs; to show the value and genuine benefit to society of trades-unions; to point out in what respect their existence subserves a wholesome purpose; to show how the poor but honest son of toil, his only heritage a sound mind in a sound body, a laudable ambition to gain knowledge, a brave and loyal spirit, bent upon being something more than one of the common herd of mankind, may, by virtue of his own unaided efforts, be more than the peer of Arthur Farnham in bravery, in manliness, in lofty ideals—indeed, in all the noble characteristics that constitute the true gentleman. A book of this sort, ably handled, would be welcomed with avidity. A book of this sort 'Money-Makers,' is not, and therefore cannot be esteemed a reply to 'Bread-Winners.' What sort of a book then is 'Money-Makers?' It is a book eyecing at many points strong writing, at many others bad taste in the use of French phrases, and at all points lack of high moral purpose. The tone of the book is not elevating, the execution of what it undertakes is feeble and unskillful. No character in the book wins a moiety of our admiration except Carew, and even his conduct is now and then inconsistent with the lofty principles by which he would be governed. The women of the book, with the exception of Nellie Grimstone, are weak creatures, and for the most part exceedingly repulsive. The author may well wish to remain unknown, while the publishers deserve rebuke for lending to the book their reputable imprint.

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THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY.

The Atlantic Monthly for March is an unusually spirited number. Dr. Holmes here definitely opens his "New Portfolio," which is exceedingly engaging. Besides the three serials by Mrs. Oliphant, Miss Jewett, and Mr. Craddock, which continue to increase in interest, there are several papers which are of value to thoughtful readers. The chief of these is a sketch by Clara Barnes Martin, called "The Mother of Turgeneff," which gives a curious account of the early influences which surrounded the great novelist, and a strikingly vivid but not altogether pleasing picture of Russian home-life fifty years ago. Two scholarly articles, "Time in Shakespeare's Comedies," by Henry A. Clapp, and the "Consolidation of the Colonies," by Brooks Adams, an almost painfully realistic story by Bishop, called "The Brown-Stone Boy," and a delightful Mexican travel paper, with the grateful title of "A Plunge into Summer," by Sylvester Baxter, complete the longer articles of the number. The continuation of the papers on Madame Mohl must not be forgotten. There are, besides, four really good poems, and a fanciful little article by Edith M. Thomas is so poetical in feeling that it naturally takes its place among the poetry. The usual careful book reviews and short notices, together with the Contributors' Club (which contains a criticism of Mr. Watt's pictures), close this attractive issue. HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN & Co., Boston.

THE MARCH CENTURY.

Recent events lend special interest to the opening paper in the March Century on "The Land of the False Prophet," by General R. E. Colston, formerly of the Egyptian General Staff, and leader of two expeditions in the Soudan. General Colston's article was written early in October, yet he seems to have anticipated the obstacles with which the British expedition has had to contend, and the information he conveys throws much light on subsequent events. Numerous illustrations and careful maps aid the descriptions; and a portrait of General Gordon, from a photograph made in 1867, is worthy of note.

Four profusely illustrated articles are comprised in the March contribution to the series on the American Civil War; and they are remarkable both with respect to the pictures and to their historical importance. Colonel John Taylor Wood, the senior surviving officer of the Merrimac, describes the combat with the Monitor as seen from within the Merrimac, and entitles his paper "The First Fight of Iron-Clads." This is followed by a graphic account of what took place "In the Monitor Turret," by the late Commander S. D. Greene, who commanded in the turret, and relieved Admiral Worden when the latter was disabled in the pilot-house. General Colston who, during the fight, was "Watching the Merrimac" from the Confederate works on Sewall's Point, describes the scene in a brief paper with the above title. In the third part of the "Recollections of a Private," Warren Lee Goss describes the march up the Peninsula with McClellan. Several subjects are treated in "Memoranda of the Civil War," notably the conduct of "General R. S. Ewell at Bull Run," who is defended by Major Campbell Brown against statements made in General Beauregard's article published in the November Century. The defense consists mainly of a correspondence which passed between Generals Beauregard and Ewell.

In this number of the Century Messrs. James and Howells continue their respective serials. The astronomer Langley concludes his papers on "The New Astronomy"; Mr. John Bigelow prints his "Recollections of Charles O'Connor," the famous lawyer; and Mr. Stephen M. Allen his "Reminiscences of Daniel Webster," each article being accompanied by a full-page portrait. Rev. O. B. Frothingham has a striking essay on "The Worship of Shakspeare." Besides the verses in "Bric-a-Brac," poems are published by Stedman and Cheney.

The editorials deal with "The Century War Series," the cholera, and "Freedom of Discussion." In "Open Letters" "The Claims of Chicago" to future pre-eminence are discussed; and among other matters "Progress in Forestry," and "The Blue and the Gray."

The first edition of the February Century was 180,000, a subsequent edition bringing the circulation up to 210,000. The first edition of the March Century is the largest first edition of this magazine yet printed, namely, 190,000.

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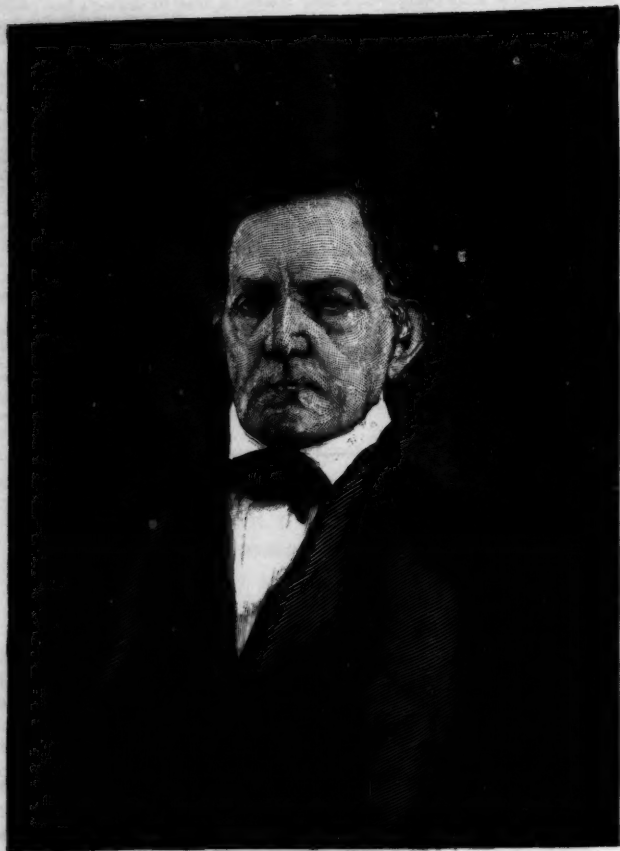
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Jacob Burnet.